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Government Urges Strikers To End Actions

AU2212192892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 22 Dec 92

["Statement" issued by the Albanian Government; place and date not given]

[Text] Considering the grave situation created by the resumption of the hunger strike in the Bulqize chromium mines and its continuation in the Ballsh refinery, the Council of Ministers convened today. The cabinet was informed on the latest developments in both areas.

The strike started long ago with the absurd demand of 70 percent of the salary of a European miner, which was justly refused. As the strike continued the demands changed, something which proved that they were attempts to create social tension according to a scenario by those who were recently speaking of premature elections and destabilization, at a time that is extremely difficult for the region and with unthinkable consequences for the fates of economic reform and foreign investment in the country.

Nevertheless, the government has continued dialogue at various levels with the goal of solving the problems and ensuring the continuity of employment in these mines. The government hopes for investments that will prolong the life of these mines. The necessary amendments to the Law on Tariffs and Taxes have been drafted, food assistance has been sent, money has been paid in advance, etc. There were also days when work resumed and the number of those who came from the villages and resumed work in the mines continued to increase.

The Council of Ministers considered once more and with the necessary seriousness the remaining demands of the chromium miners and considered them impossible to meet. The wage increase demanded would force the immediate closure of most of the mines due to their low level of technology, the completely worn-out equipment, and the significant decrease in the prices of chromium and ferro-chromium. Such actions would cripple the economy and thousands of families living in the area. Yesterday's act of blocking Well A2 coincides with the elections in Serbia and was premeditated by well-known forces with clear aims and a destabilizing communist strategy, attempting to turn back the hands of time and to interrupt the democratic processes. These forces are maliciously supported by several groups who blame these processes for the destabilization of the country.

The Council of Ministers calls on the hunger strikers and all other workers in the chromium mine to resume work and to confer with the proper ministry about the resolvable problems before the mines, which are national property, become useless.

At the Deep Processing Petroleum Plant in Ballsh, which has vital and strategic importance for our country, work stopped 10 days ago, thus causing great damage to the economy and defense and threatening the closure of and damage to the oil wells. Their demands concern increased wages while the mine is operated only at partial capacity, increased annual leave, supplemental pay during annual leave, and a reduction in the work week. Though it was stated that these problems can be solved only on a national level, by the laws of parliament and when the opportunities exist, the strike continues to keep a vitally important plant closed, something that is completely illegal. Meanwhile, the case has been passed to the judicial authorities to determine the nature of the work stoppage.

The government believes that it is necessary to stress that at a time when the situation in the region is tense, these strikes in the vital sectors seriously hinder the course of the economic reform, block foreign investment, and create a misleading and destabilizing image. Under these circumstances, the government demands that the trade unions be conscientious about the actions they undertake and calls on them to resume work as soon as possible in the Bulqize mines and the Ballsh Petroleum Deep Processing Plant.

The Council of Ministers declares that it will use all legal means to preserve the site and continuity of work and to guarantee the lives of the citizenry in this difficult winter. On the other hand, the government will make every effort to solve the problems through constructive dialogue. For this, the government demands the commitment of the trade unions and all political forces.

Cabinet Discusses Social Insurance, Other Issues

AU2212165592 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 22 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers held a meeting on December 21 under the chairmanship of the Premier Aleksander Meksi. It discussed the draft law on social insurances of Albania. After numerous discussion and taking into consideration the opinions of the trade unions, it decided to present an improved variant of that draft law.

Further on they discussed the decree on the adoption in principle, of the signing of the convention for reconciliation and arbitrage within the CSCE, the draft law on the trade credit, the draft law on the trade registration and formalities to be observed by the trade companies, the draft law on the environmental protection, and the draft law on the state pastures.

Further on, on the proposal of the Foreign Ministry, the Council of Ministers discussed and adopted in principle the draft decision on the adherence of the Government of Albania in the Intergovernment Commission of UNESCO on Oceanography. The government adopted the draft decision proposed by the Ministry of Health and Environmental Protection on the adherence in the Charter of the Founding of the Regional Center of Environment for the Central and Eastern Europe. At the proposal of the State Commission of the Radio Communication, the Council of Ministers adopted the draft law

on the reorganization and administration of the frequencies and radio communications.

Arbnori, UK's Hogg on Economic Reform, Kosovo

AU2212165792 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 22 (ATA)—On December 21, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori received at the seat of the People's Assembly Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth.

Mr. Hogg highly appreciated the political developments in Albania and took interest in the current economic situation and the attitude of Albania to the problems of the Albanians in Kosovo and former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Arbnori presented an overview of the political and economic situation in Albania and dwelt on the ways to implement the reform. Communism was overthrown in our country, but its roots are not unearthed. It is our duty to apply legislation by means of democratic methods and persistently follow the road of democracy.

Characteristic of the Albanian is his peaceful and democratic spirit, said Mr. Arbnori. During the democratic processes in Albania and the anti dictatorial movement in former Yugoslavia, the Albanians did not use violence. This shows that they are sure that the road to Europe is the only way to join the civilized peoples. Europe knows how to evaluate our attitude to Serbia, which is the model of the dictatorial communist state.

Mr. Hogg expressed his pleasure over the realistic and decent attitude of the Albanians to the solution of the problem of Kosovo. We hope, said he, to solve the Kosovo issue by peaceful means and Europe will render its contribution to this.

EBRD To Apply Various Investment Projects

AU2212215492 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 22 (ATA)—The adviser of the EBRD [European Bank for the Reconstruction and Development], Jan Lukas Van Horn, told the ATA reporter that the first project of investments in the Albanian telecommunication to the tune of 29.3 million ECU [European Currency Units] was presented to the Board of Directors of this bank recently. Some 7.4 million ECU out of them have been ensured by the sources of the bank itself, the rest is ensured by some states such as Norway, Switzerland, Italy, etc. This project will serve for the extension and modernization of the network of telecommunication, the increase of the number of talks, improvement of the quality, telephone apparatuses, etc.

In cooperation with the Ministry of Transports and the General Department of Telecommunication, the study for the installation of three telephone centrals, present by the Norwegian Government is over. Five other of such centrals will arrive soon. They will considerably meet the needs of Albania in this direction.

Along telecommunication, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has extended its activity in some other fields such as that in that of tourism, energy, industry of chromes, the development of business, the trade banks, etc.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development insists that the industry of tourism should be developed in Albania. For this purpose two studies have been made on the directives of the development of tourism in Albania. In cooperation with the European Bank, the bank has defined the touristic zones and will actively work for the attraction and instigation of foreign investors in this field.

In the field of energy, the bank is working on a program of investments for the renovation of the hydropower stations over Drini river, which will start next year. Since October this year, in cooperation with Albpetrol, the bank is helping to compile a strategy of investments in this sector and to better value the candidates of foreign investors.

This bank is rendering a considerable aid for the computerization of the banks of Albania.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is cooperating with the Ministry of Economic Trade and Cooperation for the creation of a center to encourage trade and business. It will give foreign investors information for the potential possibilities of investments in Albania. It supports the Albanian Government in the talks to postpone the paying of foreign debts.

DPS Proposes Berov for Prime Minister

AU2212183292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Olga Ivanova report]

[Text] The formula of the new government has not been specified because the meeting between the leaders of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] and Professor Lyuben Berov went on for almost two hours. As soon as he reappeared after the meeting, it was evident that he had accepted the nomination for prime minister.

He told the waiting reporters that he does not consider the name of the future government—whether it is defined as an cabinet of experts or as a government of national responsibility—to be very important. It is more important to him that this government should adopt a very clear and pragmatic program which should not only be promised but truly implemented.

Ahmed Dogan explained why the DPS proposed Berov, and I suggest that you listen to him:

[Begin Dogan recording] Mr. Berov is an individual closely acquainted with the country's economic history and an expert at economic forecasting. Therefore, I am convinced that he is perfectly capable of heading a truly competent government under our mandate. He is capable of assuming responsibility for the next stage in our economic development. As far as his acceptance is concerned, it is my belief that a government should not be formed on the basis of redistributing power and with a view to trends inside and outside parliament. If this should be the case, than I can only express my regret for those who are doing so. We are discussing the question from an entirely different point of view. We are guided by the consideration that the country needs a government, a strong and solid government, a competent and responsible government, capable of assuming responsibility for the processes under way. [end recording].

[Ivanova] We asked Berov and Dogan whether they are convinced that such a government will be supported by the parliamentary majority. Berov is optimistic. He thinks that if his consultations with the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary groups proceed as smoothly as those with the DPS, he will be able to form an efficient cabinet. I also asked Dogan about relations with the SDS, whether the idea of political agreement is no longer topical. Dogan said that the DPS is always ready to discuss such an agreement, but it will no longer be related to the government.

These are the most important events so far. We also asked our interviewees if they think that all three factions in parliament would support the proposed cabinet. Both Berov and Dogan were optimistic in this respect.

Zhelev Charges Berov With Forming Cabinet

AU2212204692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tonight President Zhelyu Zhelev issued a decree entrusting Professor Lyuben Berov with the task of forming a government under the mandate of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Berov Declares Readiness To Form Government

AU2212214492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] The latest news comes from the presidential office where our reporter Diana Yankulova is watching developments.

[Yankulova] As of this evening, Professor Lyuben Berov will have seven days to conduct all consultations necessary in connection with forming a cabinet, because President Zhelev entrusted him with this task on the basis of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] mandate.

Following the meeting with the president, Berov said that those seven days would be more than enough and that he would be ready to submit his draft cabinet list within the next few days.

DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said that the DPS would not interfere in any way with the work of Berov and will express its position in parliament.

SDS Publishes National Conference Resolution

AU2212141892 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 92 p 1

[Decision adopted by the national conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), held in Sofia on 13 December]

[Text] Bearing in mind the complexity of the present political situation in Bulgaria and guided by its responsibility as the largest political force in the country, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] national conference adopted the following resolution:

1. In the event that the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] proposes that the SDS should form a government on the DPS mandate, the SDS should begin negotiations on forming such a government. The SDS National Coordinating Council is the sole body entitled to adopt decisions on these negotiations. Representatives of the SDS parliamentary group will take part in the talks, but under no circumstances should the ethics and reputation of the SDS be damaged.

2. The negotiations should be conducted under the following conditions:

a) Before the government is formed, a political agreement should be concluded between the SDS and DPS that should include the following:

—The laws adopted by the 36th National Assembly should not be changed by vote.

—The National Intelligence Service and the National Protection Service should be subordinated to the executive power, so that they come under parliamentary control.

—Adoption of the draft laws submitted to the Council of Ministers should be accelerated.

—The parliamentary majority should comply with the obligations assumed toward the international financial institutions.

—Political conditions should be excluded in the partnership with the trade unions.

—The government is to be supported until the expiry of its term of office.

—Personal files should be declassified.

b) In the negotiations on forming the government, the SDS is to nominate the prime minister and the ministers and deputy ministers of the enforcement ministries, and the conditions of the previous talks held during the failed mandate of the SDS to form a government should be complied with.

3. The SDS will not support a government formed in contradiction to the conditions of Sections 1 and 2 of the present resolution, even if individual SDS members take part in such a government.

4. The SDS National Coordinating Council is the organ that adopts political decisions, and the SDS parliamentary group is to comply with these decisions. Failure to comply with this obligation is incompatible with remaining a member of the SDS.

Establishment of Turkish Democratic Party Detailed

AU2212213192 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 92 p 2

[Ventsislav Venkov report]

[Text] On Saturday, 12 December, former deputies of the Grand National Assembly and one-time active members of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] founded the Turkish Democratic Party [TDP] in the town of Zavet, in the Razgrad district.

The 80 participants in the constituent meeting elected Adem Kenan as party leader, and Emin Hamdi of Varna and Sabri Husein from Plovdiv as his deputies.

Despite the misgivings of the mayor of Zavet, no excesses occurred between DPS supporters and the founders of the new party. The director of the Razgrad Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs personally visited the town to ensure that law and order was maintained.

Yanko Yankov and five serving DPS National Assembly deputies were invited to the meeting, but did not attend. However, to the surprise of the hosts themselves, the former candidate for prime minister, Petur Boyadzhiev, honored them with his presence.

Recognition of the status of the Turks as a national minority runs like a leitmotif through the new party statute that was adopted. The founders demanded the implementation of all rights stemming from such recognition. Speakers advocated the free profession of religious faith and the right to practise their language and culture. They asked for Turkish schools, radio and television in Turkish, theaters, and cultural administrative communities. Speeches at the rostrum frequently raised the issue of free access to the higher military academies and the diplomatic service.

The TDP will campaign to attract Turkish capital to regions in Bulgaria with a mixed population, from which Bulgarians would also benefit. Until now Bulgarians and Turks have held unequal positions as regards their collective rights, despite the fact that, according to former DPS deputy Sabri Husein, Turks engaged in the production industries provide 60 percent of the country's budget.

Any citizen over 18 years may join the TDP, the statute states, provided that he or she did not participate in the revival process [the forcible changing of Muslims' names] conducted until 1989 by the Bulgarian Communist Party and the DPS.

Toward the end the constituent meeting turned into a question and answer session between the supporters of the new party and Petur Boyadzhiev.

Interior Minister Sokolov Assesses Record

AU2212145892 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 Dec 92 pp 1, 5

[Interview with outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov by DEMOKRATSIYA representative Korneliya Bozhanova; place and date not given: "Opposition Sabotaged Every Step Toward a Democratic Bulgaria"]

[Text] [Bozhanova] When you took over the Interior Ministry, you found the anthill relatively intact, despite the sonorous speeches made by General Semerdzhiev about depoliticization and changes in the ministry's structure. How did you orient yourself in the ministry's tangled labyrinths so as to find out how to take over the helm?

[Sokolov] It is true that when I arrived a year ago I found the ministry reformed only in name. It turned out that the changes carried out under Lukanov's administration were aimed not at democratizing the ministry, but at enveloping it in a veil so that the structures remained intact. The approximately 4,000 officials who had been

dismissed without protest included extremely good professionals, but at the same time a very large number of employees of the former State Security were kept on by transferring them to other services. When I arrived here, I quickly succeeded in comprehending some of these processes. My experience as an attorney helped me in this, of course. I also obtained assistance from a considerable number of democratically minded officials, who in fact drew my attention to various phenomena.

Both then and now, every day I have been meeting many people from outside the system who provide me with accurate and reliable information. My first task was to review the structures and assess which of them needed to be reformed. The situation was complicated because our freedom of action was restricted by the Law on the Interior Ministry, which required redrafting. Accordingly, the structural changes were made at a lower level. Another important problem was to renew the ministry's personnel. I could not rely on people outside the system, and good professionals are hard to find. In my view, many unsound claims are made regarding the concept of professionalism, because many long-serving officials are not such good professionals as one would expect from their length of service. We have young people here who are much more highly skilled than they are.

[Bozhanova] At parliamentary question time on Fridays you were one of the main figures who had to face the barrage of questions from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary group. Were there any times when you found it difficult to give suitable answers?

[Sokolov] Although it may sound exaggerated, I have never found myself in such an alarming situation. The questions were highly politicized, and not aimed at professional problems. Accordingly, most of my answers also had to have a political tone, unfortunately. I remember the opposition's ridiculous reaction when I pensioned off those 81 officials. No one had said a word when the 4,000 officials were dismissed previously, yet a veritable artillery barrage opened up in defense of this group of 81, and this in a ministry with tens of thousands on its payroll. It is a pity that during these Friday question-time sessions the opposition failed to throw light on the ministry's real problems that had to be resolved, but preferred instead to play tragicomedies. I am convinced that their efforts were chiefly aimed at snarling up the ministry's work. A good example of this was their reaction to the confiscation of illegally held firearms. It is clear to all of us that these weapons were mainly in the hands of opposition circles, but because there are no legal grounds for such ownership, it is already a crime. Their aim was to blame the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] government for the rising crime rate, instead of blaming the people who were encouraged in their acts by the Communist Party.

[Bozhanova] What is happening with the new police bill? Do you think that it will be a panacea for all crime?

[Sokolov] The new law is already drafted, and has been sent out to the regional directorates of internal affairs for their views. The bill embodies provisions that will strengthen the defense of the police in their fight against crime. The bill will provide security for the people who risk their life and limb every day. It lays down regulations for the individual situations where the police are entitled to use so-called auxiliary means. Both in Bulgaria and in other countries, the law prescribes very severe punishment for murdering a policeman, namely up to 20 years imprisonment or the death penalty. However, the trouble is that these penalties are not applied with all their rigor, despite the fact that the public reaction was so strong following the killing of the policeman in Etropole, for example, that the court will have to take note of it.

[Bozhanova] Recently the mass media have been discussing the conduct of Interior Ministry officials Tikhomir Stoychev and Arlin Antonov. Your ministry's reaction to this is very strange. When a state official commits an offense in this work, is it not a return to the bad old days to transfer him to another post instead of dismissing him?

[Sokolov] The two cases are quite different. The issue in the case of Tikhomir Stoychev concerned his actions and lack of action that to some extent or other damage his authority as chief of the Central Service for Combating Crime and a leading official of the ministry itself. The specific grounds for transferring him to the Inspectorate Department were that he maintained irregular contacts with recorded criminals, in contravention of the existing normative requirements for working with agents. Even if an employee in the field permits himself to have such contacts, the director of the service cannot. The repercussions of this are both detrimental and dangerous—criminals may indeed start thinking that a man in such a high post is practically one of them.

Apart from this, in his work it was noted that he delayed in dealing with cases that should have been handled much more quickly and brought to a successful conclusion. However, since it was established that he had committed breaches of discipline, but had not offended against the law in any way, he was transferred to another post that does not permit him to maintain operational contacts. If something else is discovered hidden among his actions, the ministry is entitled to react accordingly, especially as in his new post Stoychev permits himself to make statements to the press. In my opinion, some of these statements represent the disclosure of an investigation secret, or at least an official secret, for which the penal code prescribes penalties.

The case of Arlin Antonov is quite different. As director of the National Security Service, he permitted himself to prepare a draft law and send it to the regional services for their views. He also states that he will submit the draft law to the Parliamentary National Security Commission. This bill of his represents an attempt to revive the former State

Security. Probably Antonov has been misled by his colleagues into believing that the country needs such an institution. The ministry's leadership holds the view that such a thing should never be permitted under any circumstances. The National Security Service may be an important link in the ministry's system, but it possesses no greater powers than the other four national services. This draft law contains absurd premises, such as that the service forms part of the Armed Forces and should be controlled by the Consultative Council under the Presidency. This viewpoint even compromises the Presidency, because the council has the status of a consultative body, not an administrative one. The aim of the bill is to remove yet another service from parliamentary control.

[Bozhanova] Your presence at the ministry seems to have dispelled its ominous reputation. Is it possible that it may again become a state within the state?

[Sokolov] I have always believed that it should be a ministry like all the other state institutions. It is essential to demilitarize it to the required extent, without, of course, affecting its functions. I think that it is already impossible for the ministry to become a state within the state again, as it once was, especially as regards some of its structures. Society would not permit such a return to the past.

Finance Minister Kostov Reviews Reform Record

AU2212214592 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 92 pp 1, 5

[Interview with outgoing Finance Minister Ivan Kostov by Lev Kokushkin; place and date not given: "Reform Had Very Many Critics, But Few People Prepared To Work for It"]

[Excerpts] [Kokushkin] What did you find when you assumed office, and what are you leaving for your successor?

[Kostov] The question of our legacy was examined on many occasions in December 1990 and November 1991, and I do not want to return to it, because I believe that this topic is largely exhausted. In any event, we took over a destabilized country with immense foreign debts, with many financial "booby traps," as I would call them, and with a pressing need to adopt urgent "to put out fires" measures. At the end of 1990, Bulgaria was in almost complete financial isolation, unable to obtain any credit or aid from anywhere.

Gradually, this isolation decreased. Significant results were achieved in implementing the stabilization program with the IMF; we are cooperating well with the World Bank; and we are making progress in the negotiations on our official foreign debt and our debts owed to foreign commercial banks.

Accordingly, we are leaving behind us financial stabilization that is now quickly beginning to lose its shape, but I hope that it will not be lost completely.

[Kokushkin] What did you fail to accomplish?

[Kostov] Very many things. However, when I took on the job of finance minister, perhaps I did not have the same broad view as I have now, and failed to understand the situation fully. For a long time I thought that I was the country's chief financial controller, but many other more important issues also existed. Perhaps I did not allocate priorities correctly in my work. I now see that it is hardly possible to implement a speedy reform of the structure of the economy, to eliminate the monopolies with their control of prices and production conditions. I was unable to push privatization ahead, to make things financially easier, at least during the process of restructuring, and ensure that this process is accomplished using our own sources.

[Kokushkin] Does this mean that you failed to achieve all the aims of your program?

[Kostov] My maximum program included reaching an agreement with foreign bank creditors or an extended agreement with the IMF, because it is crucial for the future of our reform that the economic transformations within the country receive foreign backing. This part of the program I failed to complete.

However, I am convinced that what the press is saying about what we have done and what we have failed to do does not reflect the reality. I agree with Filip [Dimitrov] that two worlds exist—the world of the mass media and the real world. I am afraid that the politicians have also fallen victim to the world created by the mass media. The real state of affairs is simple, stark, and clear. It requires sacrifices from everyone, very hard work, responsibility, and creativity.

[Kokushkin] You are the only minister who remained from beginning to end, from the administration of Dimitur Popov to that of Filip Dimitrov. To what do you attribute this fact?

[Kostov] Perhaps to my own lack of caution in allowing myself easily to be persuaded to assume responsibility.

[Kokushkin] Does this mean that we will see you again in the post of finance minister?

[Kostov] I very much doubt it. For too long I have served as a scapegoat, and I am now sick of it. Let someone else attempt to play this role. The reform had very many critics, but very few people were prepared to work for it. This is the main reason why it has failed so far to achieve what it could have done, if the balance had been a little more in favor of the workers. I will be very glad to assume the role of critic.... [passage omitted]

[Kokushkin] Who put the greatest obstacles in your path?

[Kostov] I think that the greatest obstacles lie within ourselves. A man must have conviction in what he does, and not suffer from contradictions within himself. Then hardly anyone would be able to stop him. As I follow this

philosophy myself, I would say that no one obstructed me. I myself am to blame if I have failed in anything. [passage omitted]

Zhelev Discusses Balkan Issues With UK Envoy

AU2212213392 Sofia BTA in English 1942 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev today received Mr. Richard Thomas, ambassador of the United Kingdom which now holds the EC presidency.

The sides stressed the effect which Bulgaria's association agreement with the European Community would have on this country's economy and trade.

Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Thomas discussed the prospects for a more decisive international commitment to the Yugoslav crisis and a European position on the Macedonian question which is part of it.

President Zhelev cited arguments in favour of the Balkan states' voluntary restraint in the event of military intervention by the international community in Yugoslavia.

A special emphasis was laid on the need for international compensations for the heavy losses which Bulgaria sustains as a result of the bona fide observance of the economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Turkish Envoy Denies Alleged Ozal Statement

AU2312101492 Sofia BTA in English 0409 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev today received the Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr Yalcin Oral, at the latter's request, BTA learnt from the Office of the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson.

In reply to Bulgaria's request for explanations in connection with statements concerning Turkey's "Neo-Ottoman role" allegedly made by President Turgut Ozal and quoted in the Turkish press, Mr Oral produced press materials denying the said publications. In a speech made on December 19, President Ozal personally declined to have made such statements. The Turkish president emphasized the quick settlement of problems from the recent past in Bulgarian- Turkish relations and confirmed his understanding that Bulgaria and Turkey ought to pursue good bilateral relations. According to him, the principal idea of the establishment of a Black Sea economic cooperation was to form a group of friendly states around Turkey. President Ozal stressed that Turkey was was not hesitant about the need to manifest goodwill in its relations with Bulgaria.

The Turkish ambassador quoted President Ozal's spokesman as saying that the press allegation was unfounded. The Turkish president attached great importance to the strengthening of relations and cooperation on equal terms between the participating states in Black Sea economic cooperation.

Mr Valentin Dobrev expressed his satisfaction with the explanations and confirmed Bulgaria's readiness to maintain and promote its friendly relations with Turkey, says the press release of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. The deputy foreign minister expressed his belief that Bulgarian-Turkish relations provided an important guarantee to stability and peace in the region.

Ethnic Bulgarians Said Facing Pressure in Serbia

AU2212123192 Sofia BTA in English 1045 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—90,000 ethnic Bulgarians have been assimilated in Serbia in seventy years, the 24 CHASA daily reports from Bosilegrad, Serbia.

Bosilegrad is a regional capital in the so-called Western Outlands, an area inhabited by Bulgarians which was torn away from Bulgaria under the 1919 Treaty of Neuilly.

The paper recalls that only 25,000 people defined themselves as Bulgarians at the census last year.

Bulgarians numbered 120,000 in 1920. In 1961 they were reduced by one-half and now they are five times less, the leader of the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia (DUBY) Ivan Grigorov told 24 CHASA. The union was the only ethnic party to join the opposition coalition DEPOS (Democratic Movement for Serbia) led by Vuk Draskovic.

24 CHASA reports facts of police pressure on Bulgarians in Bosilegrad. Before the elections last week Bulgarians were threatened with deportation, if they voted for their party.

In Bosilegrad, which has 5,000 inhabitants, 1,400 persons are jobless. Supporters of the DUBY say that calling oneself Bulgarian is sure way to lose one's job. Many Bulgarian activists have been jobless for seven to eight years.

The party's catchphrases at the elections were "Let us end the bondage of fear" and "We have nothing to lose." Activists recall that the Serbian authorities have been denying Bulgarians the right to study their mother tongue for over thirty years. The authorities are doing their best to reduce Bulgarians' compactness. In 1961 one-third of the villages near Bosilegrad were annexed to other municipalities. Two Bulgarian centres, Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad, are cut off from each other, the paper says.

Bosilegrad Bulgarians express discontent with the official policies of Bulgaria's communist regime. "If my child wants to study in Bulgaria, it has to pay 3,000 dollars, like Arab students," says a woman from Bosilegrad. This year Sofia for the first time granted seven university scholarships to students from the Western

Outlands. These were not enough, according to Bosilegrad citizens. Funding to the Bulgarian churches in the region is insufficient. After the last Bulgarian clergyman retired two years ago services are held in Serbian.

According to a local official in Bosilegrad, there is no assimilation or genocide, just migration of Bulgarians. "That is precisely the Serbs' goal: to force Bulgarians out, disperse us and assimilate us completely," says a DUBY leader.

DUBY, which was set up two years ago, joined the Serbian opposition this October.

Deputy Links State Secretary to Bugging Affair

AU2212214792 Prague CTK in English 0917 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Bratislava— [passage omitted] The daily PRAVDA carries an interview with Vladimir Miskovsky, Slovak legislator from the Slovak National Party (SNS), in connection with his statement that a second man in the Slovak Ministry of Culture is involved in the scandal over bugging the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava.

I, and also HZDS circles have learnt that the state secretary in the Slovak Ministry of Culture (Ivan Mjartan, HZDS—ed.) knew about the case before it leaked to the public, but did not do what a government member should do, Miskovsky says.

Asked to prove this, he says that he gathered the information in his talks with HZDS members who are close to information services and the state's defense policy.

The paper says that earlier on Slovak television, Mjartan rejected Miskovsky's accusation and said he would lodge a complaint against him.

Failure To Check Anti-Semitism Criticized

AU2312130592 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Dec 92 p 2

[Report by "rc": "The Ambassador Wonders"]

[Excerpts] Hradec Kralove— A commemorative meeting was held in the Main Auditorium of the Pedagogical College at Hradec Kralove Thursday [17 December] evening to mark the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Jewish fellow citizens from Hradec Kralove to concentration camps. [passage omitted] Addressing the meeting, Yo'el Sher, ambassador of the State of Israel, said that week after week publications full of hatred and anti-Semitism have been published in our republic over the last two years without any authority trying to interfere and put an end to it. According to the ambassador, an exception occurred a few days ago when the first action was taken. One of the publications with a frequently anti-Semitic orientation in East Bohemia is the journal PRAG, which is published in Nachod district.

Moravian Nationalists Denounce Czech Constitution

AU2212214892 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)— The newly approved Czech Constitution is a well-written document, but it lacks a necessary article stating that all state power will oppose any secessionist efforts, Jan Kasal, vice-chairman of the Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), said at a press conference today.

Kasal said he was particularly disturbed by a speech heard in the Czech National Council (parliament) on Thursday [17 December] and appealing to other countries to delay formal recognition of the Czech Republic until it recognizes the Moravia-Silesia region as an autonomous land.

The appeal, presented by a deputy whom Kasal declined to name, was joined by 40 more deputies. Kasal suggested that all these legislators actually broke their parliamentary oath in which they had promised to protect the interests of the citizens of the Czech Republic.

Brno, Moravia— There have been enough attempts made to break up the integrity of Moravia, to suppress the national identity of its citizens, the last of them being the adoption of the Czech Constitution on Wednesday, chairman of the Moravian National Party (MNS) Ivan Drimal told a Brno press conference today.

The MNS is politically allied to less radical Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), which holds 14 seats in the Czech parliament.

Drimal said the new Czech Constitution was adopted through a union between bureaucratic centralists, proletarians, socialist and liberal internationalists.

The Moravian National Party will not retreat from its demands for the rebirth of Greater Moravia (which perished in the ninth century) in its original borders and with its own legislative and executive bodies. These rights will be promoted by an emphasis on the acts of international law which provide for self-determination of nations, Drimal stressed.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 19 December on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report on the MNS news conference. Referring to the Czech Constitution, MNS Chairman Ivan Drimal reportedly said that "right at its birth the emerging Czech state is laying the foundations for instability and discontent. The degradation of Moravia to the level of a mere region does not respect historical rights and is humiliating for Moravia and disposed to arouse sedition."]

Meciar Met Chernomyrdin for 'Unofficial' Talks

LD2312072692 Prague CTK in English 0559 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 22 [date as received] (CTK)— Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko today confirmed he, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, and Slovak deputy premier met with present Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin in the past days in the Tatra mountains in Slovakia.

At today's Slovak Government press conference, Knazko said this was an entirely normal meeting, which was not official because we (Slovakia) were not yet an official subject for such meetings.

He said that both the Slovak and Czech Republics have already held several such meetings with foreign representatives.

Mr. (Vaclav) Klaus (Czech premier) travelled to Austria for golf, Mr. Meciar met in Zakopane with (Polish) Premier (Hanna) Suchocka, and the like, Knazko said.

The talks at these meetings was about continuation of economic relations rather than about some sort of armed forces' brotherhood, he said.

Czech Parliament Addresses Declaration to World

AU2212130492 Prague CTK in English 1353 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 17 (CTK)— The Czech parliament today approved a declaration to the parliaments and peoples across the world, the aim of which is to assure them that the Czech Republic will be a stable democratic state.

The declaration says that as of January 1, 1993, when the Czech Republic will become an independent state, it will honor all multi- and bilateral treaties and agreements signed by the Czechoslovak Federation.

In its internal and foreign policies, the republic will fully respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, and will be based on the principles of plurality democracy and a law-abiding state, the declaration says.

It expresses interest of the Czech Republic to become as soon as possible a member of the Council of Europe and a contracting party to the European Convention on Human Rights.

The republic will abide by international law, the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It will consistently honor commitments stemming from disarmament agreements on reducing armed forces and armament down to the level of defense sufficiency.

In debate on the declaration, Gerta Mazalova from the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) read a Declaration of the Rights of the People of Moravia and Silesia.

She said the document was signed October 28 by 40 deputies from opposition parties and sent to 40 parliaments in the world. She rejected to give the names of the signatories saying she is not entitled to do so.

The Declaration claims that the government coalition does not want to recognize the Moravian and Silesian people's rights. The document demands that the Czech Republic be composed of autonomous provinces having equal status. It protests against the republic's structure, which does not respect the aspirations of a bigger part of the people of Moravia and Silesia to autonomy.

The effort of Moravia and Silesia at autonomy has been a major stumbling block when the Czech Constitution, passed by the parliament on Wednesday [16 December], was prepared. Moravia pushed for the division of the Czech Republic into autonomous provinces. The constitution provides for the Czech Republic being arranged in higher-level, self-administrative entities. The coalition parties were opposed to Czech-Moravian dualism saying this could finally lead to problems similar to the Czech-Slovak ones, which have resulted in the division of the country.

On the basis of the Moravian Declaration, Mazalova asked that a pledge to respect the justified demands of the people of Moravia and Silesia be included in the Czech parliament's declaration. This was rejected.

The 10th session of the parliament ended.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 December on page 2 carries a 300-word B. Krcova report on the presentation of the "Moravian Declaration" in the Czech parliament. According to the report, Czech National Council Chairman Milan Uhde reacted to the Declaration by saying: "Deputies who turn to the parliaments of the world with the appeal to think over the recognition of the Czech Republic are damaging the new state. I am convinced that their action must be discussed by the Mandate and Immunity Committee because it is anticonstitutional."]

Czech Press Views Passage of Czech Constitution

AU2212130092 Prague CTK in English 0908 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)— The final joint session of the Federal Assembly (parliament), adopting the state symbols of the Czech Republic, political conversations between the heads of parliamentary parties and deputies' clubs, and the passage of the Czech Constitution are the main topics of today's domestic news and commentaries.

The Czech dailies concur that the passage of the Czech Constitution was a work of political compromise. The daily MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that the Constitution is a victory for the government coalition and for Premier Vaclav Klaus personally. Klaus enters the new year strengthened as only few expected. Moreover, the victory is special in that there were no defeats, the paper writes.

The daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE notes that the number of deputies who voted for the Constitution exceeded the most optimistic expectations.

The daily CESKY DENIK comments that nearly all deputies of the Left Bloc as well as the long-protesting Social Democrats voted for the Constitution, which reflects the fact that the Constitution represents state interests more than the interests of groups.

The farmers' daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY writes that while deputies of the Left Bloc, the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, and an overwhelming majority of the Liberal Social Union displayed a sense of reality in the decisive period of discussing the Constitution, members of the

Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS) remained with the Republicans on the opposition wing.

Both rightists and leftists showed an ability to reach a serious agreement, and the result is a stable and balanced document, writes the daily RUDE PRAVO. The daily warns, however, that squabbles within the coalition pose a certain risk to political stability. The new Constitution stands well on both legs. It is now up to the state and government as well as parliamentary deputies and all their parties to stand on both legs, the paper concludes. [passage omitted]

The daily PRACE comments that the text of the Constitution lacks things which should be distinguished by clear statements, for example ecology and territorial administration. The main problem is the unsolved problem of Moravia and Silesia, the paper writes. [passage omitted]

Parliament Adopts Law on Radio, TV; Session Ends

LD2212232392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Report from the Czech parliament by correspondent Milan Repka]

[Excerpt] The Czech parliament ended its last (18th) pre-Christmas plenary session with the adoption of laws on radio and TV broadcasting. The adoption of this law means that Czech Television was given the OK3 channel until 31 December 1995 and another change is the increase of the limit for advertising to seven percent of daily broadcasting television time.

With regard to Czechoslovak radio, the Czech radio is becoming its legal successor with regard to copyright.

With regard to the legal situaton of manpower, it remains the same as outlined in the original bill of deputies: The staff of Czechoslovak radio are given all rights according to the Labor Code and the collective contract, and their employment will be discontinued on 31 December this year. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Klaus Interviewed on Current Issues

LD2212234792 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Regular weekly interview with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Prime Minister, the hardest nut to be cracked now is to find a way of filling the second chamber of the Czech Republic's supreme legislature, that is, the Senate. In your view, what possibilities are there after 19 December's rejection by the Czech National Council of the constitutional bill on the transfer of federal deputies?

[Klaus] Well, first I would like to point out that there are lots of things that are passed after two or three attempts, that is complex things for which reasonable—I stress reasonable not unreasonable—compromises are sought. Therefore, the outcry against voting again on something that has been amended and calling it a breach of democracy seems totally ridiculous to me. It is an evil game played by the opposition. [passage omitted]

The fact that there are second attempts to pass this or that bill is quite normal. If I am not mistaken the bill on Czech television and radio was rejected yesterday and I did not hear anyone shouting that to put this bill back on the agenda is a threat to democracy in this country. The first thing is that it is worthwhile to debate the bill [on deputies' transfer] again. The second thing, which is quite clear, at least to me, is that if the attempt to fill the Senate in this way fails, that is an attempt to use somebody who has been legally and legitimately elected, in that case I think that it would be better to leave the Senate empty and not fill it with anybody. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] So the manner of how to fill the Senate is still unclear. Nevertheless, the parliament has fulfilled the government's main priorities for the end of this year—to pass the constitution and adopt the budget. Does this mean, Prime Minister, that in this respect the launch of the Czech state has been fully secured?

[Klaus] I am absolutely sure that in this respect it has been secured. But it is necessary to rule out any political instability that could be caused by the existence of federal deputies elected in the Czech Republic who are somehow loosened or not anchored anywhere. It would not be a very good present for the emerging new Czech state. Therefore at present we are holding nonstop talks on all possible fronts and I hope, of course, that everything will turn out well, since everything has to turn out well. But it is a factor that we have to consider.

[Musilek] And now, about something else. Yesterday, representatives from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland signed an agreement on the creation of a free trade zone. At the moment it envisages liberalization of mutual trade in three stages and removing all restrictions in the year 2001. Nevertheless, the Czech side has pushed through the signing of a declaration on the immediate start of talks aimed at shortening this transitional period to five years. Do you think that this timetable is realistic?

[Klaus] First, let us make a distinction between political and economic levels. We clearly declare that we are not interested in any political groupings here in Central Europe. Against whom would they be formed? [passage omitted] From the moment when we clearly said that there would be no perestroykas and middle ways, the whole of this idea has been considered a political mistake. Since that time we have looked at this foreign political initiative with indignation.

The economic level of the agreement is something else. We have lost markets in the east. If any relaxation of

duties and similar things, like various trade barriers, can bring back some of the eastern markets, it would be a virtuous thing and we are of course in favor of it, provided it is not linked to any political issues. Some people in Poland and Hungary did have such ambitions and I think they still have them now.

As to the length of time that all this should take, a 10-year period is really of no interest to us. It is not worth mentioning, it is a waste of time to send somebody there, a waste of money for the air ticket. That was the reason why we hesitated for so long over whether to sign it at all in this form or whether to demand a complete reassessment of the whole thing. It has turned out that we do not have the strength and time for this now, since all the negotiations were conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which did not show any interest in promoting our interests. And there were only two possibilities left: to sign it or not. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Prime Minister, the first wave of coupon privatization is ending somehow in the shadow of the constitutional negotiations and of forming all the necessary elements of the new state. I think that lots of paper will still be written on and lots of words will be said on this issue. You talked about it in an article in 18 December's issue of CESKY DENIK. I think that today we could talk a bit about whether there is an idea of further privatization waves, if there will be any at all, and how to use the experience from the first wave.

[Klaus] As far as waves in the plural are concerned, I must say that nothing has been decided. But so many things are being and have been privatized in this country that I think that there will not be waves, in the plural. I have a feeling that there will be only one wave. There will be further individual privatizations. Maybe in 10 years' time we will come to the conclusion that we want to privatize post offices or, on the contrary, that it is not absolutely necessary to privatize post offices. But these would not be waves, these would merely be individual privatizations. So the second wave will most probably be the final one and it should be implemented next year, or at least a considerable part of it. My idea is that sometime around the middle of the year second coupon booklets could begin to be distributed. This is just an idea... an approximate idea.

Klaus Watching for Possible Regional Press Monopoly

AU2212130292 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Brno, South Moravia Dec 17 (CTK)— A spokesman for the Czech Ministry for Economic Competition told CTK today that one company is gaining a dominant position in the regional press market.

The spokesman, Vladimir Mazalek, refused to name the company, but said his ministry was keeping tabs on a certain foreign-based publisher, which he alleged was buying up local and regional newspapers. Mazalek said Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus had asked the ministry to look into the matter.

He said that at present it is not possible to predict how the ministry will deal with the given affair. Mazalek stressed, however, that any attempt by businessmen to seek a dominant position in the regional press market, especially as concerns attempts to acquire publishing rights, would be considered a violation of antimonopoly laws.

The multiple acquisition of press organizations or the merging of such operations must first be approved by the ministry to preserve fair economic competition. Failure to gain prior official approval would invalidate any such transactions and could lead to prosecution, Mazalek said.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 18 December on page 3 carries a 300-word unattributed report on Vladimir Mazalek's statement, adding that "according to information available to us, the publishing company in question is Vltava, which owns, among other publications, PLZENSKY DENIK, KARLOVARSKE NOVINY, CHEBSKY DENIK, TABORSKE LISTY, PARDUBICKE NOVINY, HRADECKE NOVINY, JIHOCESKA PRAVDA, NOVINY JICINSKA, CESKOBUDEJOVICKE LISTY, and DOMAZLICKE NOVINY."]

Toth Presents 1993 Draft Budget to Parliament

AU2212215792 Prague CTK in English 1309 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 18 (CTK)— Slovakia faces a year, which will be in many ways more difficult than the entire process of economic transformation until now, Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth said today in the Slovak parliament.

He spoke in justification of the Slovak Government's draft law on the 1993 state budget.

Toth said that the situation is caused, among other things, by the onset of building an independent Slovak statehood and its concomitant management principle everyone for himself.

Other reasons are the fundamental reform of the tax system, a change in the system of citizens' health care, pension security and health insurance, he said.

He grounded the importance of a balanced budget with the statement that a deficit budget would be a risky affair for citizens of the Slovak Republic and for the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank among foreign subjects.

He added that a deficit budget would be an obstacle in relations with the Czech Republic because a balanced budget is one of the fundamental preconditions for the existence and maintenance of the currency union between both republics.

Total state income is projected in the budget as 158,150 million crowns (5,272 million USD [U.S. dollars]), whose decisive part will be 94,700 million crowns (3,160 million USD) in collected taxes. In consideration of the establishment of the Slovak Republic as a sovereign state entity, income from tariffs will also flow for the first time into its budget, Toth said.

He also urged the parliament to approve the draft budget because its passage is important politically, just as it is economically.

Parliament Debates 1993 Budget

AU2212215892 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 18 (CTK)— The Slovak Government's effort for a balanced budget for the next year is not a submission to a dictate by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak said in the Slovak parliament's debate on a draft budget for 1993 today.

However, he added, we ought to abide by certain rules set by international institutions, the IMF and the World Bank.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) considers a balanced state budget for 1993 as proposed by the Slovak Government a positive step forward, Mikulas Dzurinda, a Slovak parliament deputy from the KDH, told journalists today.

He said the proposed budget indicates that the government has reassessed its initial program in the budget policy.

The Slovak parliament today concluded debate on the draft budget. The draft will be put to vote on Monday, December 21.

Ruml on Impact of Change in German Asylum Law

AU2312102392 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml by Nada Adamickova; place and date not given: "Jan Ruml: We Have an Oral Agreement With the Germans That We Will Take Back Illegal Asylum-Seekers"]

[Text] [Adamickova] Once the FRG passes its new asylum law, the Czech Republic will be facing the real danger of a mass influx of foreigners who either will not make it into Germany or who will be returned to the country from which they had entered German territory. I therefore asked Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml:

Even though the new legislation on asylum has not yet come into force in Germany, has the Czech Republic registered any influx of asylum seekers?

[Ruml] No. There is an oral agreement between us and Germany that we will take back foreigners if it can be proved that they had crossed into Germany illegally from our territory. However, this is not ensured in a contractual form as is the case, for example, between the FRG and Poland. In other words, we take back such foreigners, but it is an expression of our goodwill. In the final analysis, it is also an expression of Germany's goodwill that, so far, it has not forced us to conclude a written agreement.

[Adamickova] Have you agreed some common measures with our western neighbor?

[Ruml] We have not met with the German side yet. I was supposed to go to the FRG last week to meet the federal minister of interior. However, the visit has been postponed until January in view of our domestic political situation. We correspond, however, and are both aware of the need to talk to one another. My office is preparing background materials for the talks; it is necessary to conclude an agreement before the new asylum law goes into effect in the FRG. This power [to conclude international agreements] is still within the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Interior, but it is being gradually devolved to us.

[Adamickova] But you surely have an idea of what needs to be done to prevent the Czech Republic from becoming a depository, so to speak, for refugees who do not make into Germany.

[Ruml] It all depends on how the Slovak Republic will implement the agreement on cooperation concerning third country nationals. The agreement lays down that it must have the same visa policy and the same regime concerning the stay of foreign nationals [as the Czech Republic]. If the Slovak side implements this agreement completely, it will be possible to take measures, together with the Slovaks, that will definitely carry more weight than measures adopted separately in each republic. Should Slovakia not implement the agreement, this would mean the immediate erection of a physical border and control of the influx of refugees.

That is one thing. Another thing is the planned agreement with Germany on handing over foreign nationals. The EC countries should ratify a political agreement on how to exert political pressure on the countries east of Germany to make them ratify similar agreements among each other. There should exist a chain of agreements freeing the way for foreign nationals to their countries of origin. If we signed an agreement with Germany, which is pressing very hard for such an agreement, without the Slovaks having signed such an agreement with the Hungarians, we could find ourselves squeezed between a pair of pincers.

[Adamickova] Some time ago our parliament passed a law on refugees. Do you not think that this law is a sufficient guarantee [against the influx of illegal immigrants]?

[Ruml] The law allows us to react relatively flexibly to possible tidal waves of migrants. If there is a need to amend the law, then by incorporating into it screening proceedings at the border such as those that have been introduced in the West. Even before a foreign national enters their territory, these countries ascertain whether he will apply for political asylum and whether he meets the basic prerequisites for being awarded political asylum, otherwise they do not even let him enter their territory. Apart from this, it would be good to appropriately equip the passport control authorities at the state border. However, all this is a question of the nonexistent border between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. If we do not have it, this would have to be embedded by Slovakia in its own laws [sentence as published]. We will have to to reach some type of special agreement, which could take the form of an internal agreement between the ministries of interior. I am rather skeptical, however, and do not believe that the nonexistence of a state border between our republics will be of long standing. In my opinion, it will be necessary to set up a state border.

Threat of Collectivization in Slovakia Outlined

AU2212134992 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Dec 92, p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Step Toward Collectivization"]

[Text] The Slovak Republic 1993 budget will mean, according to Palo Farkas, Hungarian Christian Democratic Party deputy chairman (MKDH), that belts will have to be tightened, which will have the strongest impact on the socially weakest strata of the population. As he said at a news conference in Bratislava yesterday, he sees the largest problems with financing defense, culture, education, and agriculture.

He expressed his disagreement over the governmental definition of an agricultural entrepreneur (someone who cultivates at least 50 hectares and earns at least 500,000 korunas in profit per year). vThe decision by the Slovak Republic Ministry of Agriculture which says that the state will subsidize only agricultural entrepreneurs will lead, according to P. Farkas, to curbs on private enterprise in agriculture and to another collectivization.

Federal Ministers To Continue Political Activity

AU2212132292 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—A majority of the ministers in the Czechoslovak Federal Government, which today held its last session before Czechoslovakia's division into independent Czech and Slovak Republics in January, plan to continue their political activity.

Prime Minister Jan Strasky (Civic Democratic Party, ODS) told CTK he has to wait for the outcome of coalition talks following Wednesday's [16 December] approval of the Czech Constitution. According to their results to date, Strasky is likely to become Czech Deputy Prime Minister to strengthen the Czech Government's economic team.

First Deputy Prime Minister Rudolf Filkus (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS) admitted he might become Slovakia's ambassador to Austria. He said the post has been offered to him by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Deputy Prime Minister Milan Cic (HZDS) did not rule out the possibility of becoming chairman of the Slovak Constitutional Court.

Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik (HZDS) resolutely denied that he might head the same ministry in Slovakia. He said, nevertheless, that he may become member of Meciar's cabinet.

Deputy Prime Minister Antonin Baudys (Christian Democratic Union—Czechoslovak People's Party, KDU-CSL) told CTK it is possible that he will be the Czech Republic's Defense Minister. It depends on agreements of the Czech Government coalition, Baudys said and added he is the only candidate of the KDU-CSL for the post.

Another possible candidate for the post of the Czech defense minister is Petr Cermak, current federal interior minister (ODS).

Deputy Prime Minister Miroslav Macek (ODS) said he has not decided about his future activity yet because time, especially in politics, passes very quickly and conditions change.

Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak (independent, nominated by the HZDS) said he does not know what he will do after the federal cabinet ends its activity. However, he did not rule out the possibility of holding the same post in the Slovak Government.

Finance Minister Jan Klak (ODS) told CTK he will most likely become Czech Deputy Finance Minister specialized in taxes.

Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka (HZDS) said he will return to the Slovak Economy Ministry.

Slovak Party Representatives Discuss Cooperation

AU2212131492 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 18 (CTK)— Representatives of the Slovak parliament parties met for the fourth time on Thursday [17 December] to discuss mutual cooperation in pursuing independent Slovakia's foreign policy.

Present were representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Slovak National Party (SNS), and Democratic Left Party (SDL). The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) and

Egyutteles apologized for not attending and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) did not respond to the invitation.

Organized by Matica Slovenska, a cultural and educational organization founded in 1863, the meeting discussed building of Slovak cultural centers and promotion of Slovak culture throughout the world. Also short- and long-term projects of Slovakia's social and political development and development of a democratic and plurality system in the republic were discussed.

Slovak Arms Trade Plans Outlined

AU2212164192 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 16 Dec 92 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Vladimir Pavlik, director of the Slovak Ministry of Economy Special Production Department, by Ivo Horak; place and date not given: "Tanks for Syria"]

[Text] The recent scandal regarding the export license for the transporter to Sudan, in which the Slovak Government illegally "circumvented" the Federation's bodies, obviously raised interest in arms exports from the independent Slovak Republic. Engineer Vladimir Pavlik, director of the Special Production Department at the Slovak Ministry of Economy answered questions put to him by LIDOVE NOVINY regarding the future of Slovak export policy.

[Horak] What will be the "rules of the game" in Slovakia regarding arms exports after 1 January 1993?

[Pavlik] Slovak firms interested in arms trading must send an application for a license to the Ministry of Economy. Not everyone will be granted this license, however. We will consider whether there are genuine experts with long experience working in the firm. Our idea is that a maximum of eight or ten firms should trade in military equipment. Unimpex is the only one that has a license in Slovakia at present. This is the first stage. In the second stage we are going to pass judgment on individual deals, that is, above all, we will focus on the end user certificate (EUC) and the buyer's open letter of credit with our bank. In the licensing commission, which will be active in the presidium in the government, there will be representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Trade, and the Defense Ministry, and the entire process will be regulated by a decree, which we will adopt—possibly without changes—from the Federation.

[Horak] Have you made a list of countries that fall into the so called risk region category, to which Slovakia will not deliver arms?

[Pavlik] We are going to follow up on the material of former Foreign Minister J. Dienstbier, in which countries are divided into three categories: problem-free, risky, and absolute taboo. (In the second category there are: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Cyprus, China, Thai-Wan, Iraq, Hong Kong, Fiji, Cambodia, Ethiopia, South Africa, Vietnam, Rwanda, Liberia, Cuba, the Korean Republic, North Korea, Togo, Western Sahara, the countries of former Yugoslavia, and nongovernmental organizations in the Middle East—editorial note.) This list can be changed according to the momentary situation in a given country. Last week, U.S. experts visited us. Thy are interested in how are we checking the EUC and preventing any reexport into undesirable regions. I believe they were satisfied.

[Horak] The "Sudan" transporter case was even passed to the Constitutional Court. Have there been other similar cases?

[Pavlik] In connection with the transporter for Sudan, there was a resolution of the Slovak Government No. 735, by which a temporary licensing commission was appointed. We did not issue any other license for exporting military equipment. The only large-scale deal that is currently being discussed is a delivery of 250 tanks to Syria.

[Horak] Your office deals, among other things, with the conversion of Slovak arm factories....

[Pavlik] The decision taken by federal bodies was not a fortunate one, since it was too radical and caused too great a blow to Slovak arms factories. The figures speak for themselves: From 1988-91, production declined from 19 to 3.5 billion korunas. A total of 20,000 people lost their jobs, and in my estimate, another 4,000 to 5,000 will lose their jobs next year. Besides, 0.5 billion korunas were singled out in the Slovak Republic's 1993 budget for the conversion, while the requirement was 1.2 billion.

Government Issues Statement on UN Declaration

AU2312110092 Budapest MTI in English 1651 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 19 Dec (MTI)—The Government of the Republic of Hungary welcomes the declaration adopted at the UN General Assembly on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and language minorities, runs a statement issued by Hungary's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Saturday [19 December].

Accordingly, the Hungarian Government is convinced that such a document of binding legal force is indispensable to effective international minority protection.

The declaration could be the starting point of a codification process aimed at effectively safeguarding the minority rights, the statement says.

Using the diplomatic means at its disposal, the Hungarian Government will continue to press for the early preparation and adoption of a legally binding document comprising international guarantees for minority protection on regional and global scale.

Russia To Repay Former Soviet Debt by 1996

LD2212213592 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—Repayments of half of the USD [U.S. dollars] 1.6 billion debt of the former Soviet Union to Hungary next year, and the other half over the subsequent three years, will come from the Russian Government. The talks on interest accrued on the latter will resume early next year. Agreement was reached in the Budapest session of the Hungarian-Russian Inter-Governmental Economic Cooperation Committee on December 21-22.

The sides agreed on the list of commodities to be supplied as repayment of the debt. The related protocol was signed by co-chairmen Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, and Valeriy Makharadze, deputy prime minister.

They agreed to promote inter-company links. At present, there are 80 joint ventures with Hungarian involvement in Russia and their aggregate capital stands at USD 10 million. Russian capital invested in Hungary amounts to USD 50 million.

Defense Official Discusses Visit to Romania

AU2212094992 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 15 Dec 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Erno Raffay, political state secretary at the Defense Ministry, by Laszlo Szekely; place and date not given: "Everyone Was Most Polite to Us—Except for One Person"]

[Text] We hardly have to introduce the historian Erno Raffay to our readers. His studies and books like *Transylvania in 1913-1919; From the Principalities to the Empire; The History of Modern Age Romania*—which has also been published in English and French—and *The Secrets of Trianon, or How Our Country Was Done Wrong* were secretly circulated in the past, from person to person among friends. Raffay, born in 1948, was appointed political state secretary of the Defense Ministry in 1990.

In this capacity, between 8 and 12 December, he paid a relatively long and illuminating visit to Romania. He was accompanied by Major General Bela Biro, head of the Operational Main Department of the General Staff; Major General Lajos Fodor, deputy commander of the land-based forces, and other high-ranking Hungarian Army officers. The delegation, invited by Lt. General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary of the Romanian Defense Ministry and chief of staff, was met by Lt. General Niculae Spiroiu, defense minister.

Before his departure, although he was tired, Raffay willingly made himself available for the interview and gave extensive answers to the questions.

High-Level Relations Are Very Good

[Szekely] The current visit did not come as a surprise; as far as I know, it had serious preliminaries.

[Raffay] Cioflina Dumitru visited Hungary two weeks ago. Previously, Romanian Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu and later Niculae Spiroiu and [Hungarian Defense Minister] Lajos Fur met at various international events and during visits in each other's countries. Colonel General Paul Cheler, commander of the 4th Transylvanian Romanian Army, paid an official visit to Hungary approximately a month ago. Other contacts have also been made.

[Szekely] What was the purpose of your visit, in your own words?

[Raffay] The main goal of our visit was to continue this list and thus contribute to maintaining our military relations on a satisfactory and good level. There is complete agreement between the Hungarian Defense Ministry leaders and our Romanian counterparts on defining the goal of maintaining relations so as not to allow the very serious and difficult political and national minority policy debates between Romania and Hungary to penetrate to the military. If, let us suppose, such a thing happened then that would threaten the security of the whole central and southeast European region to the highest degree. The two sides also fully agree on the fact that Hungarian-Romanian military links are better developed than political and other relations. Basically, this is what I wanted to continue when I came to Romania with two very high-ranking, almost the highest ranking generals of the Hungarian Army, altogether with seven officers.

[Szekely] Have there been any suggestions on further developing relations?

[Raffay] I raised seven actual problems with the Romanian state secretary and noted that we will not make a decision now but hold further negotiations later.

[Szekely] Can you please mention some of the problems that were raised?

[Raffay] As an example, I would mention the issue of the Romanian military cemeteries in Hungary and the Hungarian military cemeteries in Romania. I do not mean 1848-1849 but the cemeteries of the victims of World Wars I and II because this issue is largely unresolved. In my view, according to my experience, the Romanian side has the same views: These soldiers, regardless of whether the Romanian and Hungarian government of the day took them into a just or unjust war, are dead, and the final tribute has to be paid to them.

[Szekely] What are the Romanian partner's views on this issue?

[Raffay] They showed us a list with more than 300 Romanian villages and towns also inhabited by Hungarians where there are such military cemeteries. This can be seen as a very important breakthrough. We will also make such a list and will decide at later negotiations what concrete steps we should take. However, my view is that this has been an outstandingly important step forward.

We also discussed the issue of commemorating each other's national days. At the same time, I raised the situation of ethnic Romanian citizens, officers, and conscripts serving in the Hungarian Army, and ethnic Hungarian officers, warrant officers, and conscripts serving in the Romanian Army, in the sense that no discrimination should exist.

[Szekely] What was the reaction to this?

[Raffay] The settlement of this issue needs further negotiations.

Let me mention another concrete issue that I consider very important. It is the tone of the articles, films, and programs in the military media. While high-level relations between the armies are very good and are better than the general political relations, we should make efforts so that articles or films in both the Hungarian and Romanian media that depict the other side in a sinister or negative way occur as infrequently as possible, because abusive articles in the military newspapers can create serious antagonisms between the soldiers.

[Szekely] Is there a military program on Hungarian television?

[Raffay] No. From this point of view, the Romanian Army is in a better position. We recently initiated a plan and have just achieved that the television will broadcast a five to 10 minute program, free of politics, that contains information for soldiers. These programs are on what to do when joining the Army, what rights the soldiers have after joining the Army, what military life is like, and so on.

[Szekely] What is your opinion about the Pro Patria program of the Romanian Television?

[Raffay] I myself have not seen it yet, but there are people who are watching it, and I learned that not every broadcast has a suitable tone regarding the national minorities. I have formulated this answer very diplomatically, and you probably understand why. However, one should know that I brought up this matter precisely for this reason.

Finally, I would also like to mention the memorial of the martyrs of Arad. They were soldiers, and they fought for Hungarian and world freedom, including the freedom of the Romanian nation and, therefore, they deserve respect.

[Szekely] Have you touched upon the issue of the Army's intention to close the Madaras Hargita for military purposes? In addition to its provocative and tension-making nature, there are serious political concepts behind this intention because, if the plans are carried out, a military zone could emerge in the Szekler mountains.

[Raffay] No, we have not discussed this matter.

[Szekely] What is your opinion about the talks in Bucharest?

[Raffay] I regard our talks with Defense Minister Nicolae Spiroiu, State Secretary Dumitru Cioflina, and other Romanian generals as extremely positive and strongly carrying opportunities for progress. I would like to stress that I conveyed Hungarian Foreign Minister Lajos Fur's message in which he thanked the Romanian defense minister for his critical stand regarding some declarations made by some extremist Romanian politicians, declarations that were quite unfortunate and clearly negative for the Romanian people. I also thanked him on my own behalf.

The Guest Committed a "Dreadful Thing"

[Szekely] What lessons did you learn from your visit in the provinces?

[Raffay] In addition to Bucharest, where we spent two days, we visited two places: the headquarters of the 4th Romanian Army in Kolozsvar [Cluj], where we were received by Colonel General Paul Cheler and several other high-ranking officers; and a regiment of an armored division stationed in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. We also had the opportunity to meet the prefects and mayors of both Kolozsvar and Marosvasarhely.

Our talks in Marosvasarhely were very good. Prefect Elena Filipescu, who gave the impression of a calm lady, and Mayor Gyozo Nagy, who wisely considers both the interests of Romanians and Hungarians, informed us

about the economic life of the town and the county, the privatization, the national minority composition, and the problems connected with the school network of the national minorities living there, and they did this objectively and politely, as is customary in international contacts.

In Kolozsvar, however, Mayor Funar began his talk by saying that I committed a violation of the law.

[Szekely] Did he clearly declare this?

[Raffay] He said that I violated some regulation by committing the "dreadful thing" of mentioning Cluj-Napoca by the name of Kolozsvar in my greeting address, which was extremely polite and absolutely diplomatic. Therefore, Funar took me to task and told me that there was no such place in Romania called Kolozsvar. Then, instead of informing us about the city's general situation, the political parties, the governing body, and the activity of the mayor and his office, Funar told me that I most probably meant the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] when I criticized the Romanian and Hungarian extremists in my opening speech (there are also extremists in Hungary, like the skinheads and others), the RMDSZ whose members wanted to illegally place a trilingual plaque on the occasion of the festivities connected with the anniversary of the Hungarian Theater, and who organized an illegal demonstration. At the same time, Funar also told me that I was quite mistaken, because he tracked it down that the Hungarian Theater was built in 1803, and not 200 years ago, so we were celebrating the anniversary of one hundred and ninety-something....

I told him that, as a defense state secretary of a foreign power, I do not want to interfere in these details but, as far as I know, the Hungarian national minority in Kolozsvar celebrated the 200th anniversary of Hungarian theater productions in the city, and not the anniversary of the building. I also pointed out that I did not want to violate the law, but we Hungarians call Vienna by the name "Becs" and, as far as I know, the Romanians, including Mr. Funar, call [Hungarian towns] Debrecen "Debretin" and Szeged "Seghedin," and I could give further such examples. This is quite natural, and this is so all over the world. The English people do not use the Russian name when mentioning Moscow, either.

[Szekely] How did Prefect Zanc and Lieutenant General Cheler behave meanwhile?

[Raffay] Both were polite and behaved correctly. Paul Cheler openly declared that he agreed with the mayor on many issues. We did not reply to this, because we came here to build contacts with the army, and not to engage in political debates.

[Szekely] What conclusions did you draw from your meeting with Mayor Funar?

[Raffay] One travels the world from Stockholm to Athens and from Rome to Washington, and a high-ranking guest is treated differently everywhere. Besides, I would like to point out that, with the exception of one person, the state leaders, Defense Minister Spiroiu, my state secretary colleague, and the representatives of local government bodies were extremely polite to us during our visit. The only thing that made me ponder was that, as far as I know, this man received 1 million votes in the last presidential elections. Does the Funar-type attitude serve the interests of the Romanian people? My answer to this is no! Everyone should think about this.

We Are Preparing for Defense

[Szekely] With your permission, I would like to deal with another problem: Is it mere chance that the political decisions on supplying Hungary with spare parts from the former East German Army, purchasing Russian military installations, and purchasing U.S. military installations were made almost at the same time?

[Raffay] When the GDR ceased to exist and Germany was reunited, a lot of fuel, spare parts, telecommunication installations, and good firearms and heavy arms remained there, because the GDR received very good arms from the former Soviet Union. One or two years ago, several countries expressed their desire to purchase these weapons. In the meantime, the Yugoslav conflict broke out. After various internal debates, the Germans decided not to sell arms to crisis areas. We accepted this in a disciplined way, and then we asked for spare parts. The German Government made a decision recently: We can receive spare parts.

On the other hand, an agreement was signed during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Budapest, namely that we will receive spare parts for about half of the sum owed by the former Soviet Union to Hungary, for $800 million, from the total of $1.7 billion.

Two weeks ago, at their joint news conference in Budapest, Defense Minister Lajos Fur and U.S. Ambassador Charles Thomas announced that the United States allowed Hungary to purchase a so-called "friend or foe" recognition system for its tactical aircraft from the U.S. arsenal, and this permission was given first to Hungary alone, among all the former socialist countries. The importance of this agreement does not only lie in the high standard of the U.S. electronic equipment, but also in the fact that this reflects the U.S. approach to Hungary, and we will receive this military equipment with government guarantees. This also proves what we have repeatedly heard from Western diplomats, namely that Hungary is the safest area in our geographical region from political, economic, and military viewpoints alike. An economic indicator also shows this: About 55-60 percent of the foreign capital flowing into the former CEMA countries lands in Hungary, and the remaining 40-45 percent is distributed among all the other countries. It is well known that foreign capital flows into places with political and economic security.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the aforementioned three things emerged together absolutely by chance.

[Szekely] However, someone or some people might think that Hungary wants to militarize itself.

[Raffay] I can declare with full responsibility that there is no Hungarian danger. Our Army is the smallest army in the region, with the worst equipment. We only prepare for defense. The Hungarian Parliament will examine our military doctrine after 15 December. This is a defense doctrine, we do not have an enemy image, we do not threaten anyone, we do not have weapons of mass destruction, and foreign troops cannot be deployed on Hungarian territory. According to our military doctrine, the Army can only be used in the last resort, for defense purposes.

With the purchase of the military equipment in question, we would only like to guarantee the operation of our Army and modernize its equipment, and thus approach the level of the countries in the region.

Views Bilateral Military Ties

AU2312112692 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Dec 92 pp 1, 12

["Exclusive" interview with Erno Raffay, state secretary in the Hungarian Defense Ministry, by Simion Buia Jr.; place and date not given: "I Would Like Romanian-Hungarian Military Relations To Go Beyond Political Relations"]

[Text] [Buia] Mr. State Secretary, what was the purpose and the program of your visit to Romania?

[Raffay] My visit to Bucharest is a response to the visit that my colleague, Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary in the Ministry of National Defense, paid to Budapest a short while ago. Basically, our visit refers to the development of Romanian-Hungarian cooperation at the highest level, to cooperation between the two armies and national defense ministries. We started our discussions in Bucharest and continued them in Cluj, where I had the opportunity to get to know the commander of the 4th Army, Mr. Paul Cheler; then we went to Tirgu Mures. We briefed each other about the changes of major importance in the Romanian and Hungarian Armies, but not exclusively in the sphere of offensive or defensive weapons; we mainly discussed the human potential, because an army does not just consist of weapons, strategy, or combat tactics and I know very well that soldiers are very sensitive people and an army is strong when the soldiers' morale is good. The second goal of the visit was to get acquainted with each other, because we are talking about two nations that have lived side by side for over 1,000 years. Romania has a very strong and developed army. We are also developing our Army, and in this respect I would like Romanian-Hungarian military relations to go beyond political relations. My minister Lajos Fur and I believe that it is extremely important that there should be no friction in the military relations between the two countries, even if there are political differences and ethnic disputes. A lack of understanding would have a harmful effect on the entire southeast European region.

[Buia] How do you view the present and the future relations between the Hungarian and the Romanian Armies?

[Raffay] When we were members of the Warsaw Pact and Romania was not, the situation was clear cut: we were a country occupied by the Soviet Union. Romania was lucky that in the past decades it did not have foreign troops on its territory. Hungary could not make a move without Moscow's approval. As a matter of fact, this can be clearly seen in the Hungarian Army: although it is strong enough, it still has very serious deficiencies. After the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship in Romania and of Kadar's lenient dictatorship [in Hungary], a new political and military situation was created in the communist zone and each country individually started developing military relations. Hungary, out of all its neighbors, first concluded a convention of military confidence with Romania, in the fall of 1990, which provides for cooperation between the top leadership of the two national armies. As a matter of fact, precisely today I invited the commander of the Romanian Military Academy to visit Budapest. And thank God, we have two national defense ministers —Spiroiu and Fur—who think alike and act accordingly.

[Buia] What are the major problems of the Hungarian Army's current leadership? Do you have the money to solve your problems?

[Raffay] We do not really have money! This year we asked parliament for 80 billion forint for the equipment we need in 1993 and I believe parliament will approve only 63 billion. Thus, we will have to make serious savings in order to make our Army operational. The second big problem is Hungary's combat technology. We are not in Romania's fortunate situation of being able to manufacture 80 percent, and in some cases 100 percent, of the country's arms. Romania has a national arms industry. Hungary has nothing like that. In our country, the great majority of weapons are of Soviet origin and therefore, we are "at the mercy" of foreign countries as far as the acquisition of spare parts is concerned.

The third problem is airplanes: we have 12 MiG-21s, a few MiG-23s, but we do not have any MiG-29s. Romania does. Even the ones we have are in a rundown state. The fourth problem: during this civil war in Yugoslavia we had to scramble a lot of aircraft. When the Yugoslav Air Force violates our territory, we order two planes and at least two military helicopters to take off. And this has been going on for one and a half years. On all such occasions we use up a lot of fuel and it costs us billions of forint. On the other hand, some airplanes wear out, others get destroyed. Thus, we must rebuild our Air Force. This is our major priority. And I will tell

you something else: Hungary has 30 war planes altogether! You can compare these figures with those showing the potential of the Romanian Army. The difference is enormous. Romania has several hundred warplanes.

[Buia] What kind of international alliances does the Hungarian Army wish to join?

[Raffay] This week our parliament will discuss Hungary's new Army doctrine. The most important thing is that, unlike in the past when we were Warsaw Pact members, today we do not have an "enemy image"! We wish to live in peace and friendship with all neighboring countries. First of all with Romania. So far, Hungary has taken fairly big steps towards NATO and the Western European Union. In addition, our country is a member of the Visegrad Group, together with Poland, and the Czech and Slovak Republics. We have very good relations at army level with the United States. The latest news is that the United States is selling us a few IFF planes (reconnaissance planes) which are equipped with the latest electronic system and the highest technology.

[Buia] A last question: How come you speak Romanian?

[Raffay] I am a historian. So far I have published three books about Romania's various periods. Around 1970 a book about how to learn the Romanian language was published in Hungary and I bought it and learned Romanian. Then I started translating works by Romanian historians. When I am no longer a state secretary and return to the university—where I teach the history of Hungarian-Romanian relations in the 19th and 20th centuries—I will also return to my writing and to my translating, too.

Poll Shows Public Not in Favor of New Parties

AU2312132592 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Dec 92 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Most People Oppose the Creation of New Parties"]

[Text] The press reported recently on the creation of several new political parties. An opinion poll conducted by the Mareco Ltd in conjunction with MAGYAR NEMZET among a representative sample of 1,000 adults in October 1992 analyzed the opinion of the population about the creation of the new parties. In the course of the survey, we asked people their opinion about the chances of Imre Pozsgay's National Democratic Alliance, Janos Palotas' Republic Party, and Zoltan Kiraly's Social Democratic People's Party.

The programs of the new parties were not yet known at the time of the survey, and their political guidelines were also unknown at the time. Therefore, the answers mostly show the extent of dissatisfaction with the current party structure in Hungary and the need for renewal, rather than an evaluation of these new parties. Most of the people in the survey (54 percent) did not agree with the emergence of new parties. At the same time, given the short time since the emergence of these new parties, it is worth noting that every fourth person (27 percent) approved of their emergence.

There are no real differences between the various age groups in the opinions about the new parties. However, there were sharp differences according to educational level: Some 14 percent of people with a general school education of maximum eight classes were in favor of the new parties, while 56 percent opposed the emergence of new parties; 26 percent of high-school graduates and 42 percent of university graduates approved the emergence of new parties, and 39 percent of the university graduates opposed the emergence of new political forces in Hungary.

Some 42 percent of the people in the survey refused to evaluate the election chances of the new parties, and 26 percent saw no chances for these parties in the next elections. Fewer people than the percentage in favor of the new parties think that these parties stand a chance in the next elections (a total of 21 percent). These answers are the following: 11.5 percent favor the Republic Party, 7 percent favor the National Democratic Alliance, and 3 percent favor the Social Democratic People's Party.

Compared with the population in the countryside, among city dwellers, including Budapest, more than the average percent think that the National Democratic Alliance and the Republic Party stand a chance at the next elections. People with a higher education also regard the chances of these two parties as more favorable than average. However, there are no real differences in the people's opinions regarding the Social Democratic People' Party according to any objective factor.

Skubiszewski Reports on Meeting With Delors

AU2112111992 Warsaw PAP in English 1549 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Brussels, Dec 19—Poland's future membership in the European Communities is becoming the aim of the EC and is in their interest, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said on Saturday [19 December] following his meeting in Brussels with head of the EC Commission, Jacques Delors.

The two politicians discussed prospects of establishing closer relations between Poland and the European Communities (EC) in line with the proposals of the two sides included in the December report of the EC Commission.

After the meeting Skubiszewski said that his talks with Delors covered the outcome of the Edinburgh summit from the Polish perspective, as well as that of the whole Visegrad group.

Skubiszewski stressed that it was important to realize those points of the Visegrad states memorandum that go beyond the agreement on association with the EC and prepare for Polish membership in the EC.

Skubiszewski said that he viewed with optimism the prospects of Poland's membership in the EC, stressing however that immediate decisions should not be expected.

The foreign minister said also that while speaking with Delors he pointed to the need of a broader opening of western markets for Poland. He emphasized that Jacques Delors showed full understanding for Poland's demands. "His vision of Europe is broad and identical with ours," Skubiszewski said.

Walesa Letter to Miners Urges End to 'Chaos'

WS2212133892 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1146 GMT 19 Dec 92

["Letter of the President of the Republic of Poland to the 'Wujek' Coal Mine Strike Committee"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] Today Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, forwarded a letter to the miners on strike in the "Wujek" Coal Mine in Katowice. We have published the letter in whole:

Miners!

Friends!

I have received your letter with misgivings and concern. Polish mining is currently experiencing some trauma. The lack of concrete solutions to difficult problems has brought about a surge of strikes. Similar problems had to be tackled by the rich Western countries. They needed a few years to design activity plans, and more than a dozen to implement them. I understand, however, your disillusionment and determination. You are defending your mines and your places of work. You are defending the foundations of material existence for your families. You have decided to use the final means—strike. Today it is not only Silesia that is in jeopardy, it is the whole Polish economy.

Can strikes, however, solve your problems? Right now, when the government restructuring plan is nearing completion. It is just a step away from implementation which is supposed to bring about gradual changes: rational exploitation of deposits, strength, and resources.

A lot can be won, but a lot can also be lost. The decision is up to you. You may force the government to make decisions, you might even overthrow it. But what will you gain by that? Will Poland gain by that? We will all lose. Including you. We will not build anything on chaos and destabilization, while the prospects for solving Silesia's problems will become even more remote. It will be a cave-in that will shake not only Silesia, but also Poland. The Republic, and indeed none of us, can afford such solutions. Over the past few days, I have spoken with ministers as well as the prime minister, and more than once. I will continue to watch over your affairs. I will insist and reprimand. I will struggle for quick and effective solutions. The president is here to keep vigil and protect those who are in danger, but also to prevent the destabilization of the country.

You can be sure that I will do everything possible to perform my duties. You must, however, help me with your wisdom. I am asking you for it.

Christmas is a holiday that brings hope. I believe that in free Poland, although we argue and differ, on the issue of paramount importance, which is the good of our country, we can arrive at favorable solutions.

God bless you at Christmas and in the New Year.

Letter to Sejm Marshal

WS2212134492 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1139 GMT 22 Dec 92

["Full Text of President Lech Walesa's Letter to Wieslaw Chrzanowski, Marshal of the Sejm"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] Dear Mr. Marshal!

Poland is facing a crisis which fills us all with anxiety and concern. The strikes in Silesia, brought about by the dramatic situation in the mining industry, are threatening to destabilize the state. The responsibility for the resolution of the accumulated problems, and the solution of the crisis rests primarily with the top state organs, including the parliament.

A debate dealing with the problems of Silesia has taken place in the Sejm. As the result, the Council of Ministers report on the government activities concerning the issue of restructuring of the coal industry and the situation in Upper Silesia was rejected. The Sejm did not come up

with anything else. The Deputies returned to their homes for holiday rest. They left the miners and the government to its own devices. Moreover, I hear that the next extraordinary Sejm session is to be devoted to other issues.

Through your offices I wish to sensitize the Sejm to the current crisis situation; its neglect suggests lightheartedness and lack of responsibility. I hope that the Sejm will somehow come to understand the seriousness of the situation and undertake proper action that can be a signal to the strikers that the dramatic situation is not being ignored by the highest representative body such as the Sejm. I ask you, Mr. Marshal, to convey my position to the parliamentary clubs.

Railway Workers, Director on Strike Negotiations

WS2212134592 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Dec 92

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] The government has also started negotiations with railway workers who are on strike. The talks concern the 12 strike demands of the Regional Railroad Workers' Section of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity of the Silesian District Directorate of State Railroads [DOKP].

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Slawomir Matczak, identified via screen caption] [Video shows negotiations around a table; focuses on document listing demands of Silesian railway workers] After 19 December's discussion of the subjects of the negotiations between the government and striking railway workers, talks have begun in the Ministry of Labor on the railway workers' 12 demands. They concern, among other things, reducing the loan burden of the State Railroads, halting the real wage decrease, and introducing prepensions for those who will lose their jobs in the railways shortly before they reach an age eligible for a pension.

[Jozef Szczepanski, of the Solidarity of the Silesian DOKP, identified via screen caption] Today we are not saying that all our demands have to be met by the government in every detail. The art of negotiating consists in both sides having something to offer to each other, and these are concessions. [Unidentified journalist] Will the railroads be on strike during the negotiations?

[Szczepanski] Yes, they will. I mean, whether or not the railroads are on strike is not up the railway workers, it is up to the joint Strike Committee.

[Krzyszfof Maminski, national Railroad Workers' Section of the NSZZ Solidarity, identified via screen caption] The rest of the regional sections are waiting for the results of today's talks in the Ministry of Labor, as well as the outcome of tomorrow's meeting with the general management.

[Unidentified journalist] Of what are the railway workers most afraid?

[Maminski] What most worries the railway workers is the information about a substantial layoff next year. It is above all about this subject that we would like to talk with the General Management tomorrow.

[Aleksander Janiszewski, general director of the Polish State Railroads, identified via screen caption] The 100,000 employees is a matter of several years—three, four, or perhaps five—of slow employee reduction in the Polish State Railroads. Next year such a reduction must take place, but on a much smaller scale. [end recording]

Initial Talks With Miners End; Minister Comments

WS2212134392 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Dec 92

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] Initial negotiations ended between government representatives and striking miners. Four items, which did not directly concern mining, were excluded from the list of 23 demands. Both sides agreed that the demands of halting the decrease in real wages and adjusting the income tax to the rate of inflation would be examined separately in the framework of the collective bargaining, which Solidarity is currently conducting with the government. Political demands, bringing those who are responsible for economic scandals to justice, and observing the rule of equity before the law would be discussed later on.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] It took almost five hours for the delegates of the striking miners to get from Katowice to the meeting at the Ministry of Industry.

[Waclaw Marszewski, chairman of the Strike Committee, identified via screen caption] We are not here to make some illusionary promises and return with nothing. We will return to Silesia if the workers' teams accept certain conditions. This, of course, does not have to happen today. It may occur in three days or in a week or two. We will return with concrete decisions and then we will stop the strike.

[Unidentified journalist] What caused such a determined outburst in Silesia?

[Marszewski] It was because we have practically nothing to wait for. The final hour for mining has arrived, and at the moment we are struggling for the survival of the whole of mining.

[Waclaw Niewiarowski, minister of industry and trade, identified via screen caption] I think that the union members will first of all want to introduce the restructuring program, it is our common task. If, however, there arises a need to negotiate the details, and there will be such need, for instance the details Mr. Marszewski talked about, we will try to reach an agreement.

[Correspondent] [video shows government officials, including Minister Niewiarowski, and strikers representatives, sitting around the negotiating table] The most important demands of the strikers are, among others, supplementing the Silesia restructuring program with a plan of social protection for miners and their families, lessening the burden of loans in the mines, and achieving a clean account at the moment of privatizing the plants as well as stopping the real wage decrease in mining. Today the country's Solidarity Committee will begin its session in Katowice. The committee will make a decision concerning further activities of the union. [end recording]

Strikes Delay Signing of State Enterprises Pact

LD2212180192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] In view of the continuing strikes, the signing of the state enterprises pact is impossible at present, the Council of Ministers said in a statement today. Regret was expressed that the pact could not be signed on the date previously agreed and that the advantageous solutions ensuing from it could not be immediately introduced. The government, however, expressed the hope that this is only a deferment of the final deadline for acceptance of the pact.

Solidarity Meeting on Strike Situation, Action

LD2212190292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] The Solidarity National Commission is meeting in Katowice for a closed-doors discussion on the strike situation in Silesia. However, everything indicates that some of the commission members are going to demand an expansion of the strike action.

Marian Krzaklewski, the union's chairman, represents a different stance, and is opposed to Solidarity being treated as a trampoline for movements on the political market. At today's meeting he emphasized that it is not the union's intention to overthrow the government. We must build a dialogue that will lead to the solution of collective disputes with the government by legal methods, Krzaklewski stressed.

President Walesa Interviewed on Current Issues

PM2212171092 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 17 Dec 92 p 32

[Report on interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Hakan Forsberg in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—The coffee cups at the Belweder presidential palace let slip that much of the old communist Poland still remains. The Polish eagle, the national crest, has still not had its crown restored. And the president himself, Lech Walesa, has been here for two years on the strength of a constitution dating from 1952 when Stalin himself was still ruling.

"But London was not built in a day," the world-famous former electrician from Gdansk said.

The well-known droopy moustache is gray these days and better kept than in the days of Solidarity. He still wears the Black Madonna, Poland's national saint, on his lapel, closest to his heart. And his tongue is as quick as it was—sometimes too quick to fit in with his role of statesman, when he should weigh his words and views more carefully.

"Look at Britain. In Britain everyone drives on the left-hand side of the road. They do not seem to have the courage to change over to the right. What has happened in Poland is perhaps a thousand times braver and more important. Most things are good here now, but that road sign is on the wrong side of the road and that bus stop has not been moved yet. For 50 years everything has been built for "left-hand traffic" and it is only three years since we changed over.

"But we will manage it—and we are now waiting for Britain to change over to driving on the right. Only then can you understand how difficult it really is."

The process of change has now reached Walesa himself and the presidency. The day before the interview he had, if somewhat reluctantly, signed the so-called "little constitution," which replaces parts of the 1952 constitution. The little constitution divides power between the president, parliament, and the government—hitherto parliament has had the biggest say—and clarifies their respective powers.

Walesa had dreamed of becoming more like the president of France, a head of state who is also active in day-to-day politics. But that is not how parliament and the constitutional court wanted things. So Walesa sulkily offered to resign.

[Forsberg] Do you intend to carry out your threat to resign if the constitution does not turn out as you want it?

[Walesa] I do not want the new constitution to be written for the situation as it is today, for this parliament, but for the future, for the overall good of the country. That is why I have offered to resign in order not to block the way for a good constitution. Since it takes such a long time to draft a whole new constitution, we have had to produce a little constitution to cover a transition period and to create some order.

[Forsberg] Since you became president two years ago Poland has had four different heads of government. It seems that you find it easier to work with the present prime minister. Is it because she is a woman?

[Walesa] I have to admit that I have always found it easier to work with women. That is why I have long tried to employ women. Perhaps it is because Polish women have worked harder; they have a better sense of responsibility, they are more practical, better at counting. They

have really been taught a good lesson in the communist school. Quite simply, their lives were tougher.

[Forsberg] You are on the same side as Prime Minister Suchocka in your views on abortion. But why are you opposed to a referendum?

[Walesa] Personally, I am in favor of all sorts of referendums; the nation has to be consulted sometimes. But I am against a referendum when your own conscience is involved. Forty million people could agree—and one single person be against. But perhaps that person is right. No law can force us to murder—nor can any referendum.

[Forsberg] Poland has almost three years of economic reforms behind it—reforms which have led to lower living standards for large groups. What view do you take of this?

[Walesa] In general terms people in Poland live a lot better today than they did three years ago. But at the same time great differences have arisen. Poland has been divided into three groups: One-third are already living as people do in the West. For another third, things are a little better than before. But only one-third of the nation is worse off. But just because of this you cannot say that, in general, things are worse. Those who are better off don't talk about it. Only those who are worse off complain. But in a democratic system we would win any election. Two-thirds think that things are better for them and are prepared to defend this. But this does not of course mean that we should forget those who are worse off. If they had not received unemployment support things would really have been bad. But where in the world do you find a country where people receive unemployment support for three years on the enormous scale that we have here?

[Forsberg] Many in the community are worried about the crime in the country. What should be done to correct this?

[Walesa] We have to remember that every change of political system brings such problems with it. The old laws are out of date and the new ones are not yet fully clear. There is a total transformation, like after a war. We are trying to work quickly in this area too, but there is a price we have to pay. A country does not consist only of angels. It would have been better if everything had been prepared, just like walking into a new house, but that has not been the case.

[Forsberg] Are you disappointed with Sweden and the other Nordic countries bearing in mind the small amount of aid you have received from them?

[Walesa] First, I want to make clear that we do not want any help, not in the form of sentimental feelings and aid. Personally, I want us to do business with other countries. But in order to get a grip on the market to the East companies have to build up strong bases here in Poland—for our joint advance toward the East.

Many people seem not to realize this—that the East will be an enormous market for quite a few years to come. And Poland is a good way station en route.

Walesa's Advice to Council of Ministers

LD2212213992 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] We all have to remember that power in the democratic state does not exist for its own sake but must, first of all, serve its citizens, particularly those who feel lost and threatened, Lech Walesa says in a letter to the Council of Ministers. The president stresses in this letter that the government has special responsibility. It must be efficient and energetic on the one hand, but at the same time it must understand the complexities of the situation and must be deft in its actions, Lech Walesa writes. In order to solve human problems quickly and efficiently, one must face them. One must talk to the people, mix with them, and carefully listen to society's voice, but one must also react efficiently and firmly if our changes are threatened by lack of responsibility and anarchy.

Solidarity Commission Demands Policy Change

LD2212230392 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2145 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] According to the Solidarity National Commission, the growing strike tension in Poland is caused by the lack of a proper state economic and incomes policy, the rise in the cost of living, the lack of a constructive dialogue with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, and the failure to take seriously the union's demands and protest actions. The increase in the cost of living without any compensation mechanism, and the lack of a program for getting out of the recession do not create opportunities for realistically solving employees' problems.

In a resolution adopted at an extraordinary meeting in Katowice, the Solidarity National Commission demands a change from the government in the economic and incomes policy. NSZZ Solidarity does not agree with the attempts to make political use of the union's protests in political power struggles. In the case of a lack of positive solutions, the National Commission will make a decision on 6 January on expanding the protest.

Iliescu, Vacaroiu Receive EC Parliamentarian

AU2212165392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1425 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1992—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received Tuesday, December 22 at the Cotroceni Palace, Mr. Richard Balfe, member of the European Parliament and rapporteur for Romania's relations with the EC.

Mr. Balfe said he had exchanged opinions with President Iliescu on the difficulties facing Romania and had told him he approved of the road taken by the Romanian Government.

The association agreement between Romania and the EC is important both economically and politically, as Romania will thereby enter the family of the European nations. The agreement, to be signed at the end of January 1993 and then sanctioned by the European Parliament, will be the first step towards the creation of a free trade zone in Romania.

Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu received Tuesday, December 22 at the Victory Palace (the Romanian Government's headquarters) Mr. Richard Balfe, member of the European Parliament and rapporteur for Romania's relations with the European Community.

Approached during the interview were aspects of both sides' carrying out the procedures for the ratification and entering into force of the association agreement between Romania and the EC. In that context the guest underscored that the agreement was a first step towards a closer cooperation between Romania and the EC and expressed his hope that Romania would soon be integrated in the European economic space.

In turn Premier Vacaroiu pointed out that Romania would carry out the provisions of the agreement, as it was a party to the initiation and achievement of a number of projects of economic, cultural, financial, technical and scientific cooperation.

Government-Union Wage Talks Begin, BNS Walks Out

AU2212212692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1849 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1992—On Tuesday, December 22, consultations started in Bucharest between the Government, employers, and trade unions on the wage policy the executive intends to apply in 1993.

In the attendance are dignitaries and experts in the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, the Ministry of Industry, the National Confederation of Romanian Employers, and the National Council of Romanian Private Employers.

The trade unions are represented by the leaders of the main trade union confederations (the National Trade Union Bloc, Ceres, Fides, Hercules, Alianta, 15 Noiembrie, Cosin, Consilva, Metal, Construct, and the Confederation of Trade Unions in Mining, except for the unions grouped within the National Consultative Council—Fratia, Alfa, and the National Council of Free Trade Unions of Romania).

"The National Union Bloc [BNS] has walked out of talks with the government on wages," says a BNS communique sent later on 22 December to ROMPRES.

The communique mentions that BNS has presented a written point of view containing general principles to encourage a growth in production and a diminution of costs at a macroeconomic level. As the talks have not been kept at a general level, and issues were approached of interest only for certain areas of activity, the BNS delegation walked out of the negotiation room.

BNS said it would take part in a government-union dialogue only after the government presented a representative variant for a unitary approach of the problems, accepted by the whole union movement.

Hungarian Party Said 'Guided From Budapest'

AU2312130292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1029 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/12/1992—"The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) is a political party set up on an ethnic criterion, but its political strategy is guided from Budapest. In Budapest all the scenarios are set up while the Hungarian Democratic Union put them into operation," stated Ioan Gavra, vice president of the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) in an interview granted to the weekly EXPRES. In the interview he is making an analogy between the UDMR and the Romanian Communist Party, banned after December 1989, showing that the UDMR is such a party, "guided from outside the country."

Asked about his point of view over a possible ban of that ethnic party, Ioan Gavra said: "the PUNR did not request its elimination, but first of all the investigation of national offences brought by some of its leaders. So effective justice is our concern, and afterwards, if we have enough evidence of that kind or of other nature, we will ask for the ban of that party." Moreover, he appreciated that the PUNR have already started that action one year ago, but that "unfortunately, the law moves very slow." Ioan Gavra enumerated among the charges against the UDMR: "Antinational actions," for which evidence had been gathered, statements of that ethnic party, which had the aim "to instigate on the national question artificially preserved by the UDMR" and "denigration of Romania."

Ioan Gavra said in the interview that some UDMR parliamentarians "are sons of former Horthyists who had been convicted" and that, even if "the children are

not guilty for their parents' sins, if today we realize that they manifest themselves the same way, that means something is wrong."

Extent of Economic Corruption Revealed

AU2212152592 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Dec 92 pap 1, 2

[Article by Dumitru Tinu: "The Government and the Mafia"]

[Text] No matter what Mr. Vacaroiu does, he will not be able to implement even the abbreviated program that he presented to parliament without having to confront immense corruption. In the few weeks that have passed since the establishment of the new government, nothing could be perceived at a "social level" precisely because this is where the mafia of profiteers has mainly established itself. On the steps of the aircraft that was to take him over the ocean, Mr. Vacaroiu's predecessor, Mr. Stolojan, admitted what everybody by now already knows: That our wheat reserves are not sufficient for this winter and that his promises—that everything was just fine—were based on the reassuring declarations of his protege at AGROEXPORT, which (and how scandalous!) holds a monopoly over grain imports.

The practice of presenting false reports and of turning lies into official statements has been thoroughly established at the Victoria Palace. Had the daily ADEVARUL not disclosed the truth, the prime minister would not have found out very soon that there are large quantities of sugar stored in various enterprises in Romania, while the state-owned food stores cannot even offer the miserable "ratio" that was due for the month of May. The explanation is very easy: How could the sugar dealers have maintained such a high price for imported sugar, if the sugar that is produced in Romania had been properly distributed? We are talking about imported sugar paid for in hard currency and with the appropriate commission also paid in hard currency.

Our newspaper has proved that the current sugar crisis was deliberately created by people with great responsibility in the government who were corrupted by sugar dealers, or maybe were themselves involved in the trade. It is good that Mr. Vacaroiu, convinced of this, ordered all the stored sugar to be purchased by the government and delivered to the population at a subsidized price. However, this is only a half measure. It has an impact on the "effect" and not the "cause." We believe that the prime minister will be curious to find out on whose initiative it was that the sugar should be blocked in factories, because "why" it happened is clear to everybody.

The mafia network is working at a high level, with greater prospects than what Mr. Vacaroiu's "winter government" envisaged. Why was the Ministry of Agriculture not concerned with the procurement—at the market price and not at the ludicrous price it commands today—of wheat from peasants? And why are peasants discouraged from cultivating sugar beet (through that harmful policy of prices)? Because otherwise a new "bread problem" or "sugar problem" cannot be created, in order to force the government to turn again and again to massive imports—for hard currency—which enables the mafia members to cash in with their commissions of millions of dollars?

A real scandal was created at the Ministry of Trade with the export of live animals. Under the pretext of irregularities (real ones) in that sector, the centralized system was reintroduced, which means that the green light should come...from the ministries. Tens of thousands of animals died in Romanian ports waiting for the mafia members to agree on the best black market price.

Certainly, the prime minister alone will not be able to untangle all the dubious deals that have been struck in the past three years. Without the support of parliament and the law, no light will be shed on all those scandals in which various people—who were temporarily employed at various levels in the power hierarchy—are involved, starting with traders in children and continuing with the abuses committed in allotting land and villas to relatives and proteges of the VIP's of the day, with the robbery committed through the so-called privatization of certain enterprises, and with the crooked deals of cigarette traders, and the thievery committed at the customs offices. What has been discovered so far is only a small fish while the big sharks are enjoying themselves in this ocean of corruption.

Perhaps now, after the new ministers take office, the executives in the Ministry of the Interior, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Court of Justice will finally deal with the files of the mafia that has penetrated the entire society. It is possible that parliament will not be pleased with the parody of declaring wealth, which is being offered to the country as entertainment, started by the president of Romania, who is taking pride in the fact that he does not have any property. It would be important to have a law that forces all dignitaries to declare their wealth and have the respective file printed and made public, so that any citizen can see to what extent the various assets accumulated recently have been acquired in a normal way or through abuses of power.

Spiroiu Interviewed on Military Doctrine

AU2212215692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1513 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1992—"While all the other states in the Warsaw Treaty (when it existed) adopted a bloc military policy," said Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, in an interview with the newspaper AZI, "Romania was the only state whose military doctrine was defensive. That is why we did not have many corrections to make and we did not effect essential changes. The Romanian defensive doctrine considers sufficiency in defense, as determined by the geopolitical area in which Romania lies, by insecurity sources, by the way in which an act of aggression against Romania might proceed, and, naturally, by

the limitations imposed under the international accords to which it is a party. Therefore, we did not have to make any fundamental restructuring in our doctrine. What we lack in this area is the elaboration of a coherent outlook, of an integrated outlook on national security, in which national defense and the military doctrine of the Romanian state should have their place. This outlook on national security includes diplomacy, cultural activities, and the information services of the state, the activity of the Ministry of National Defense, of the Ministry of the Interior, and of the public order-keeping forces."

Nicolae Spiroiu opined that as for formation and evolution, the Romanian Army had had specific conditions as to the other socialist states. "For 30 years we had our staff trained abroad. Therefore, to this specific we should adapt everything that is good in various models. We looked into the U.S., French, German, and British models and we adapt what is best suitable to Romania, to the Romanian Army." Among the elements taken into consideration Spiroiu mentioned the fact that Romania had had an industry that met 95 percent of the Army's requirements for equipment.

Defense Experts Rebuff Foreign Threat Allegations

AU2212212992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1844 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1992—During the December 22 sitting of the Senate, Senator Radu Timofte read the report of the [senatorial] Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security denying a serious statement made the previous week by Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, according to whom actions threatening the security of the state were in progress outside the country's borders in Hungary.

The report, based on the results of hearings of competent persons in the area—the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service, the director of the Intelligence Directorate in the Ministry of the Interior, the head of the Intelligence Directorate in the Ministry of National Defense, and the deputy director of the External Intelligence Service—shows that there are no data and information justifying the statement made in the letter, allegedly written to Tudor by three people living in Hungary, read by Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor as an argument for the threats posed to the country, a statement able to seriously disquieten [disturb] public opinion.

'Ethnic Purification' in Ukraine Alleged

AU2312120392 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 17 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Marin Bucur: "The 14 Army's Sleep Gives Birth to...Cossacks on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] While people are emphasizing how the time has come to sign a treaty of good relations and neighborliness with democratic Ukraine, the Kiev leadership is carrying out a real transplant of Slav ethnics on old Romanian territory, the territory that was taken away by Stalin in complicity with Hitler and given to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine so as to have an excuse to take away from Ukraine what organically belonged to that republic in the northern part of Bukovina. The news agencies are talking about whole colonies of Cossacks being brought over with the purpose of Ukrainianizing the Romanian territories under foreign occupation. Certainly, the policy promoted by General Lebed in the Dniester region must be continued and where else if not in neighboring Bukovina. The protector of the Cossacks has a threefold objective with the act of starting "ethnic purification" in North Bukovina: to denationalize and reverse the demographic proportions; to put pressure on the Romanian population and intimidate it; and to carry out an anti-Romanian maneuver. All of this is corroborated through the recent pact between Moscow and Budapest.

The Romanian Government has the duty to take most serious note of this dangerous long-term action on our country's border and to bring to the attention of international forums the perfidious scenario made in a manner typical of the old Tsarist-Bolshevik imperialism. The Romanian Government must show concern with this unjust act of Romanian denationalization and firmly ask the Ukrainian Government for an explanation. It would be regrettable and disastrous for Ukraine to let itself become the victim of a neoexpansionist policy, a policy of nostalgia for invasions and domination, which, throughout history, has crumbled into dust.

Serbian Elections Called 'Victory of Fascism'

AU2212172992 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Ranko Mavrak commentary]

[Text] Serbia has voted in favor of long-term isolation, poverty, and war. That, in short, could be a summary of the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections in a country that is blamed for the bloody disintegration of the former Yugoslav federation. Although the final results are still not known, the predictions that any knowledgeable person must have made have come about. To have voted Panic in would have meant having to face all the consequences of the crimes committed by the Belgrade regime in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The average Serb—and the statistics show that barely 40 percent of Serbs have completed even their primary school education—who is indoctrinated with a false view of history, poisoned by deep chauvinism, and unprepared to confront his own guilt for supporting the creator of Serbian fascism, has decided to try and postpone the moment of truth. That, of course, is the short-term aim of a desperate man since, sooner or later, Serbia will have to pay for the crimes committed in the name of the monstrous concept of all Serbs in one state.

There are no longer any illusions in the world as to the character of the regime set up by Slobodan Milosevic, the Balkan butcher, as he has been nicknamed by the NEW YORK TIMES. This has been confirmed at these elections. The opposition and impartial observers noticed many irregularities during the voting, including transparent rigging, such as wiping voters' names off electoral lists. So it happened that in Krusevac a fight broke out between the members of the elections commission and people whose names had disappeared from the electoral list. Then there is a whole arsenal of tricks, such as ballot boxes with false bottoms, preventing observers from supervising the course of the voting, and so on and so forth. There is, of course, no need to waste words on the biased agitating by the Serbian media in favor of Milosevic.

The first measures with which the West will respond to the institutionalized victory of fascism in Serbia will most likely include the total blockade of its borders, breaking off telecommunications links with it, and long-term diplomatic isolation. If these measures, too, prove to be ineffective, then Western military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be inevitable. The ultimate consequence of all that could be war within Serbia itself. To that effect, the warning from the latest EC ministerial session is a positive development as far as we are concerned.

Karadzic and Mladic, Milosevic's executioners, who have provided plenty of data for the U.S. files on their war crimes, now have two options. The first is for them to misunderstand Milosevic's victory and, by continuing his and their war, finally face complete defeat. The second is for them to enter seriously the talks that might be the last diplomatic attempt by the West, represented by Lord Owen, and accept the unacceptability of the chauvinistic project for which they have so bloodied their hands. Since the rustic semi- intellectual and his infantile general have so far always made all the wrong moves, we can only assume that they will do so again. It is very likely that they will try and continue [words indistinct] and Serbia all the way, following the principle: the worse, the better. When this war affects all those who voted for Milosevic, that is when it will stop and what we will see then is a picture like that of Germany in May 1945.

Owen Cautious on Using Force in No-Fly Zone

LD2212213292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 22 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Washington, Dec. 22 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen said on Tuesday [22 December] he was against the application of force in a no-fly zone over the ethnic and civil war-ridden ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Lord Owen told the U.S. NBC Television in an interview on Tuesday that he would favour "a long break" before a vote is taken on the U.N. resolution on the use of force, and to think about whether it should be insisted on the use of force against the local planes violating the ban on flights over Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Lord Owen cautioned that, in case the resolution on the application of force was adopted, it would be necessary first to take measures to protect U.N. representatives in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In case the U.N. Security Council continued insisting on the use of force, Lord Owen would favour a two-staged action. First, voting on a resolution later this week to deal with the use of all available resources. Secondly, a long and persistent delay before the force of arms is introduced in this zone because this may seriously jeopardize the humanitarian endeavour as a whole. What should be borne in mind, he said, was the extent of damage. He added he wanted to halt an unfavourable development and believed his goal might be achieved through a resolution by which the Security Council would not request the use of force.

A decision on a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina was taken by the Security Council on October 9. Meantime, U.N. observers have registered 327 unauthorized flights, mostly by Croatian planes, over Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serb Association Says Recognition 'Wrong Move'

LD2212192492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 22 (TANJUG)—The borders of an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina do not exist and its government will never be recognized by either the local Serbs or the local Croats, while its internationally-recognized government does not control even 25 percent of its territory, the Association of Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina in Yugoslavia said in its letter to United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Tuesday.

It is clear now, with a bloody inter-ethnic and inter-religious war raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina, that the recognition of this former Yugoslav Republic was "a wrong move", the Serb Association said.

If one wants peace in these regions, then everyone must lay down his arms—the regular troops of the neighboring Republic of Croatia and its para-military units, the Moslem military units, the army of the local Croatian national community "Herceg-Bosnia", the regular army of the Serb national community—the Serb Republic, and foreign mercenaries fighting on either side, the Serb Association said.

Around 60,000 troops of Croatia's regular Army and several thousand foreign mercenaries have been fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the side of the Moslem-Croatian coalition.

This fact is corroborated by evidence in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] report submitted to the United Nations and Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. Despite the involvement of Croatia and foreign mercenaries in the Bosnia-Hercegovina war, the United Nations introduced sanctions only against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) on May 30, although the Yugoslav Army pulled out of the former Yugoslav republic on May 20.

"The Association of Serbs cannot comprehend why your excellency is not restraining all participants in the war and we more and more believe that the most influential U.N. members do not want peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina", the association said.

The parliament of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina decided to declare an end to the war on December 17. The decision is to come into force on December 25 although the Moslem side rejected it and the Croats still have not made up their minds.

Moslems urge a unitarian state which they would dominate as the strongest nation (44 percent) while the Serbs (33 percent) and Croats (17 percent) want Bosnia-Hercegovina to be arranged as a confederation in which each of the three constituent nations would enjoy full independence.

United Opposition Rejects Ethnic Cantons Idea

AU2212214992 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Excerpt] The United Opposition of Bosnia-Hercegovina today delivered a demand to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to hold a session. The demand also says that within 10 days the session should be prepared and held by the Presidency and the Assembly. On behalf of the United Opposition, this demand was signed by Muhamed Filipovic [Muslim Bosniak Organization], Nijaz Durakovic [leader of the former Bosnian communists], Rasim Kadic, [word indistinct] and Nikola Kovac. The United Opposition of Bosnia-Hercegovina has also issued the following public statement:

This is the second time in recent times that Bosnia-Hercegovina has been facing the momentous dilemma of whether to adopt the ethnic and national principle in setting the constitutional and political relations in the country, or whether to adopt a normal European democratic parliamentary political system. That dilemma [word indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina not being divided along ethnic lines into ethnic cantons and regions, which would prevent normal coexistence for a long to come. These ethnic cantons or regions would be nothing but [words indistinct] the ban of the rule of ethnic parties and the achievement of their desire to be the only representatives and masters of life and death of what they call their own people. That dilemma has been brought up again by the talks about the internal organization and the division of Bosnia- Hercegovina within the negotiations on the political and military solution to the crisis in our country. It is obvious, though, that the creation of ethnic cantons, be it Herceg-Bosnia or the Serbian Republic, is nothing but giving legitimacy to the others to create their own ethnic cantons.

The creation of ethnic cantons or regions has brought about the present catastrophe and the enormous tragedy of our people, while any insistence on them promises only greater tragedy and losses. Mindful of the consequences of this policy [words indistinct], the United Opposition declares that it most vehemently opposes such plans, and most categorically rejects any alliance to that effect with anyone for any purpose. The United Opposition supports only a democratic, parliamentary, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural unitary state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will be greatly decentralized in the interests of better development and the better protection of all the human and civic rights of its people, including ethnic rights, but that will retain the state, territorial, economic and cultural unity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Extension of Izetbegovic's Presidency Viewed

AU2212185192 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 p 8

[I. Cubela report: "Alija—Does He Go or Stay?"]

[Text] Mostar— Apart from the war, in Bosnia-Hercegovina the main attention is focusing on the transfer of the leadership. Namely, although there does not remain much time until 20 December, when a new president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to take office, it is still uncertain whether Alija Izetbegovic is going to retain the post of president for a third term or is going to hand it over to a representative of the Croatian people, as laid down in the constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At first it may seem complicated, but there are no uncertainties concerning the transfer, and according to the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], either is possible. Alija Izetbegovic has already spent one "protracted" year as the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the SDA again wants him to retain the post, even though the regulations assign it to a representative of the Croatian people. This the SDA justifies by saying they are at war, but the demand is neither fair nor constitutional.

Alija Izetbegovic and other members of the presidency have no four-year mandate. If that were the case, they could have remained in office, because the war would have prevented new elections from being held. But in reality that is not valid. The procedure was previously determined by the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and despite the war it is feasible, so there are no doubts that next year, in accordance with the constitution, a Croat is to head the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Despite the fact that it is their turn, the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not want to make a political issue out of it, and representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ have been in active negotiations with representatives of the SDA, which may lead to agreement, but only with acceptance of the terms put forward by the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Namely, the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ have already made certain observations concerning the distribution of the most important government posts, noting that Croats have always been given peripheral functions, so the present moment is appropriate for putting things in order.

Although they do not want to renounce the presidential office, in a spirit that strives for good relations and cooperation, the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ stresses that a prolongation of Alija Izetbegovic's mandate is possible, but only when it has been decided that the president and the foreign minister cannot be of the same nationality, as is the case now. So, although everything is clear, it is still unknown who is going to be the new president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. But whatever happens, the good thing is that a solution will be reached through teamwork between the leading parties.

Military Groups Hold Tripartite Talks in Sarajevo

LD2212201992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Military delegations of the three warring sides in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina met at the Sarajevo airport on Tuesday [22 December], the SRNA news agency of Bosnian Serbs has reported.

The meeting was organized through mediation of the U.N. peace-keeping forces (UNPROFOR). It will focus on a proposal to end the war, establish a wider safety zone around the Sarajevo airport and evacuate about 1,500 civilians from Sarajevo.

The Serbian delegation is headed by Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Ratko Mladic. The Moslem delegation is headed by Col. Sefer Halilovic, while chief of General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council Gen. Milivoje Petkovic, is at the head of the Croatian delegation.

SRNA recalled that the Serb side, which insists on a political solution, proposed the war to be ended.

Radio Sarajevo, controlled by Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic, also reported about today's meeting and focused on the demilitarization, accusing Serbs of rejecting an UNPROFOR plan on the withdrawal of troops.

Agree on Civilian Evacuation

LD2212210392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Top representatives of mixed military working groups of the Army of the Serb Republic and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia at Sarajevo airport today signed a document allowing contingents of 500 citizens of all three nationalities to leave Sarajevo. The document was signed with the mediation of General Phillipe Morillon, United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and will come into effect on 24 December, the Bosnian-Serb news agency [SRNA] reports, quoting the information office of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic.

According to the same source, contrary to expectations, the document was not signed by the Muslim side "whose representative, Colonel Sefer Halilovic, commander of the so-called army of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, failed to attend the meeting," SRNA notes.

Summing up the outcome of today's talks at Sarajevo airport, Lt-Gen Ratko Mladic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic, told SRNA that UNPROFOR had offered a comprehensive plan for resolving problems in the Sarajevo airport zone. According to Gen Mladic, the plan provides a sound foundation for further talks with Muslim military representatives about this issue.

In reference to the document signed today allowing contingents of 500 citizens of all three nationalities to leave Sarajevo, Gen Mladic said that the Serb side would fulfill its part of the undertaking and at the same time

urged those citizens who wished to leave the city to rely on UNPROFOR and its guarantees.

Gen Morillon and UNPROFOR, who will be responsible for coordinating the exodus, were warned of the fact that the Sarajevo [Muslim] command did not control the majority of its forces which, according to Mladic, "points towards a serious danger for the citizens who can become the target of Alija's [Alija Izebegovic, Bosnia-Hercegovina president] free agents".

Gen. Mladic is of the view that the Muslim side did not attend the meeting today since "Sefer Halilovic is too busy directing and commanding his forces which from the direction of Breza and Visoko have been attacking Serb positions around Ilijas and which are engaged in a futile attempt to establish contact with the Drinski Leopardi [the Leopards of Drina] and the Crni Labudovi [Black Swans] terrorist groups since wiped out."

"By its failure to attend, the Muslim side has sent a message to the world that it is not committed to negotiations but to a war option," Mladic warned.

The failure to attend by the Muslim military working group meant that no talks were possible about an agreement on the cessation of the war put forward by the Army of the Serb Republic on 20 December and in line with a declaration on the cessation of the war adopted by the National Assembly of the Serb Republic at its 23d session, SRNA notes.

Agree on Airport Demilitarization

AU2212202492 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 22 (AFP)—Military leaders of the three warring parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina agreed in principle Tuesday [22 December] to demilitarise the area around the airport of Sarajevo, the head of the U.N. peacekeeping force in Bosnia told AFP.

General Philippe Morillon, the French commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said the "principle" of demilitarisation of the area "had been conceded" by Moslem, Croat and Serbian military leaders.

The accord "could lead" to a new deployment of United Nations peacekeeping troops in the area, Morillon added.

He said he hoped the agreement could be signed "very quickly, perhaps as soon as tomorrow" (Wednesday).

Under the outline accord, the area to be demilitarised covers the western suburbs of Sarajevo, scene of some of the heaviest fighting between Serbian forces besieging the Bosnian capital and the city's Moslem-Croat defenders.

Serbian military commanders have agreed to include their stronghold of Ilidza in the accord, as well as Lukavica and Nedzaraici.

The Moslems and Croats, who are in an increasingly fragile alliance against the Serbs, have agreed to pull their troops out of the suburbs of Butmir, Mojmilo, Hrasnica and Dobrinja.

Morillon did not specify how many more peacekeepers could be deployed around the airport if the proposed agreement is signed.

The proposed demilitarisation would mean withdrawal from the area of all heavy armaments down to 12-millimetre machine guns, he said.

Before any accord is finalised, a high-level "joint military commission" will be set up at the airport Wednesday.

Morillon said the commission would be a "sort of common command post," responsible for deciding where control points would be set up and who would man them.

Head of the Bosnian army Sefer Halilovic did not attend Tuesday's talks on the proposed demilitarisation, but informed Morillon of his "agreement in principle" Monday evening.

Serbian commander Ratko Mladic and Croatian commander Milivoj Petkovic gave their agreement "in principle" Tuesday, then Morillon went to the Bosnian presidency, where the initial agreement of the Moslems was confirmed.

No Accord on Withdrawal From Suburbs

LD2212213392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] No agreement was signed at military negotiations in Sarajevo today on withdrawing weapons from six suburbs around Sarajevo airport, despite the fact that an agreement in principle was reached. Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Bosnia-Hercegovina army, did not attend the talks.

Tudjman Receives Swedish Prime Minister

LD2212233492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman received the Swedish prime minister in the presidential palace this evening. The president's office announced that they discussed the situation in Croatia, particularly in the UN protected areas and the future role of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in the implementation of Vance's plan. They also spoke about the serious situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and political and other consequences of the Serbian elections. They also discussed the huge number of Bosnia-Hercegovina refugees whom Croatia accepted and has been providing for, which exceeds its capacities and therefore it was stressed that humanitarian aid should constantly be supplied.

The Swedish prime minister stated that his country is providing for almost 80,000 refugees from Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which in relation to the number of population, is the most in comparison with other European countries, a statement from the President's Office says.

The meeting was attended by head of the President's Office Jure Radic, Croatian Vice Premier Ivan Milas, and the president's advisors.

Russian Mercenaries Fighting With Bosnian Serbs

93BA0350C Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Mario Marusic: "Milosevic Ordered 'Russian Reinforcement' for B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]?: Murderers for $25 a Month"]

[Text] *According to Serbian sources, as many as 10,000 Russian mercenaries and "Afghanistan veterans" are fighting for the Bosnian Serbs on the battlefields of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina].*

Siroki Brijeg—With the continuation of the Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the old friendship and ties along the Orthodox line between Serbia and Russia are functioning better all the time. It has been learned from Serbian sources that several thousand Russians are fighting for the Bosnian Serbs; some even allege that there are around 10,000 of them, with new ones arriving continually.

In order to optimize coordination and the successful functioning of Serbo-Russian ties, the self-styled duke of the so-called "SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region of] Hercegovina," Bozidar Vucurevic, traveled to Moscow recently where he met with seven retired Soviet generals who are dissatisfied with the collapse of the communist state and with officers who are members of the banned "National Salvation Front" organization. On that occasion, there was discussion of sending new volunteers into the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially to the eastern Hercegovian headquarters of the Serb forces—Trebinje. There, they will reportedly be provided housing in barracks or the houses of banished or killed Muslims, while later they will be deployed on the battlefield as needed by the Serb command. According to the information obtained, the Russian volunteers receive housing, food and "even" $25 for their "job." Romanian mercenaries get only $7 as "remuneration," and they enter Serbia with travel documents and a tourist visa in a joint arrangement between Russo-Serbian ultranationalist societies, which swear to "the eternal friendship of the holy Orthodox brothers, Serbs and Russians."

There is also well-founded suspicion that Slobodan Milosevic is directly involved in this dirty work. Specifically, on several occasions he has contacted one of the heads of the retired generals (who express their displeasure with the democratic changes in Russia under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin and call for a return to the old system) and a member of the leadership of the "National Salvation Front," Sergey Filatov, openly requesting aid from Russia.

Thus, with hidden or unhidden political support, the Serbian aggressor is being assisted by volunteers coming from Russia, primarily Afghanistan veterans who place themselves at the service of the criminal, warmongering policy of Milosevic, Seselj, Karadzic, Vucurevic, and the other war criminals responsible for unprecedented massacres, murder, rape, and destruction in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is true that the Russian embassy disassociates itself from these "jobs in Trebinje and environs for $25 a month" performed by its citizens, and alleges that it is absolutely powerless to do anything. However...

Prime Minister Updates Reform Processes

AU2112163392 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 pp 8,9

[Interview with Hrvoje Sarinic, prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, by Stella Bogdanic; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Shock Therapy"]

[Text] When Hrvoje Sarinic took over the post of prime minister, he knew that a huge, hard job and a great responsibility were in store for him. Along with the misfortunes brought on by the war, enormous devastation, displaced persons and refugees, an economic recession, the government had to face a large inflation and an empty state budget. Avoiding media exposure, the prime minister said at the press conference held on the anniversary marking the 100th day of the government that, in spite of great difficulties, they had done the best they could, and that they had not expected 100 days free from criticism.

[Bogdanic] Mr. Sarinic, what exactly is the Croatian Government doing? The public does not know enough about this. What is known concerns mainly new prices, taxes, duty, negotiations with the unions.... The defining

of the legal system and a consistent economic strategy, with an anti-inflation program, is yet to be seen.

[Sarinic] I can understand that the public, and you reporters as well, are interested in what we are doing, but I told you at the very beginning, and believe me it was not just an empty phrase, that I am running this government in the same way as I used to run a company. And in the company, after a board meeting, I did not hold press conferences.

We have a lot of routine problems, but we also have a number of very pressing situations, which instead of conducting a long-term policy and strategy, require us to act very quickly. The government spends more than half of its time and energy dealing with these pressing situations. From a long-term point of view, this is very dangerous. That is why the government's activity is now focused on an analysis of the whole situation.

Settling the National Debt

[Bogdanic] That sounds a bit formal. Can you please say what that means in concrete terms?

[Sarinic] We are working on defining the national debt. You cannot begin to imagine what kind of a job that is, and how little has been done so far. To head a state today, in the executive sense, without reliable information as to where and how much we owe, in addition to not knowing how we are going to pay this debt, is simply impossible. It is like having a car without a steering wheel. We could not do this any sooner, not only because of the war, but also because all our services were actually geared to servicing Belgrade. These services were not methodologically, informationally, or statistically adapted to give information vital for the running of an independent state. This is the path we are now trying to clear. Actually, Croatia is in a much better position than it should theoretically be in, if you take into account all those abnormal parameters.

Take, for example, the problem of old savings, which constitute about three quarters of the domestic national debt. Belgrade simply took the citizens' money, took it to the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and then used this money to buy arms with which to attack us. Croatia could have told the citizens: "Ladies and gentlemen, what is done is done, and we cannot assume these liabilities." However, the Croatian state did not do that, but it assumed the liabilities, although this is an enormous financial burden. We are now using these old savings in the process of ownership conversion in order to reduce the national debt.

I do not even want to mention the war and its consequences, the devastation, the displaced persons, the refugees.... All this contributes to a set of abnormal circumstances, the result of which should be a catastrophe. And yet we have no catastrophe. Our situation is grave, but I believe that we will be able to overcome it.

[Bogdanic] Last September, you mentioned in your inauguration speech that one of the main tasks of the government was to define a new legal system. How far have you gotten?

[Sarinic] Croatia inherited a legal system from Yugoslavia with about 6000 laws. Once we legally define and modernize our legal system, we will have about 550 laws. We have just prepared 20 laws for parliamentary approval. Not all of the old laws were bad, but they just were not implemented. Our laws will have to be implemented, and we are also going to tighten financial discipline. We also lack a legal infrastructure. We have just finished a proposal for a law on trade associations, which is to be the basic law for the economy, consisting of 670 articles. At the end of this year or at the beginning of the next, it will go through parliament. However, in order to implement it, we need notaries. In the world we have notaries, we used to have them here as well, but then lawyers took over this job, although they were not authorized to do so by the state. We have in preparation a law on notaries, but we will have to train people. We might even pass the law, and leave a three-month period during which we would instruct clerks on how to implement it.

This is a very complex problem, and as far as the legal system is concerned, we are practically starting from scratch. When you acquaint yourself a little closer with the procedure involved in converting from a socialist to a market-oriented system, you realize that it is a very complex operation, and that it cannot be done overnight. We do not have the trained personnel for this new system, so we must be careful about how we dole it out, so as not to build a system which is ideal in theory, but very hard to implement. The old legal system, with all its flaws, still exists, and it will go on existing, at least until we prepare a whole new infrastructure.

Making a Cut in Public Companies

[Bogdanic] Ten public companies account for three-quarters of the foreign debt, and a quarter of Croatia's economic deficit. This is obviously a big problem for the state because the deficit is covered by state funds. In spite of this, at the last parliamentary session, a debate on public companies was tabled. How do you see the solving of this problem?

[Sarinic] Public companies are part of the inheritance, and they are a terrible burden on us. However, without dealing with the problem of banks, we will not be able to solve the problem caused by the functioning of public companies. These companies both are and are not state owned. They ask for their deficit to be covered out of the state budget, but they do not hand over their revenues to the state. I am afraid I must say that even within the government there is resistance to making these companies come under the total control of the state, regardless of whether they are making a profit or a loss. I am not acquainted with, nor do I understand, this type of arithmetic, and I believe we will have to make a cut here.

We have to make a detailed analysis in order to see who is making a loss, what and how much is being lost, and of course, how this is happening. We have to put all our cards on the table, and then the government will take over this deficit in the form of national debt. As for the public companies that have state capital invested in them, these need to be reorganized, so that they do not generate a deficit.

[Bogdanic] Can you clarify this with a specific example?

[Sarinic] Take, for example, the Croatian Electric Company [HEP]. HEP has a very large debt, and in addition to this, every kilowatt-hour of power that it sells us produces an additional loss because its expenditure exceeds its revenue. As soon as this is defined, the state will take over the debt. However, this company has got to be reorganized so that it does not produce losses anymore because otherwise, in a year, HEP will once again turn up at the state till with a deficit. These companies, like all the rest that we have inherited, are neither economical nor efficient. The people from HEP come to me and say: "This month we have lost such and such an amount of money. If the government does not pay, there will be no power." It looks very simple and logical, but the state can no longer go on being a milk cow.

It is true that the government controls the price of electric power, but it does not control the production organization, and through the price of a kilowatt-hour of electric power, HEP is also selling us its poor organizational skills. Here, too, the state must and will intervene. When the national debt and the rational organization of public companies are defined, we will set market prices. In this way, these companies will no longer produce losses, but we will also define a strategy for subsidizing these prices, if they are threatening social security.

[Bogdanic] You have announced that you will unveil your strategy for Croatia's economic development for the next year at the next parliamentary session set for mid-December. Can you say what the basis of this program is?

[Sarinic] Maybe I will disappoint those who are expecting something sensational. There will be nothing revolutionary in the stabilization program. I have already said that we will not go for shock therapy, but that we are going to eliminate the causes of inflation and recession. A gross national product of $7 billion is very modest, half what it was before the war, and we all know why this is so. Since we are not receiving financial assistance from abroad, we have to perform our gymnastics in very little maneuvering space. The stabilization program must, on the one hand, boost the living standards and the personal expenditure of the population at least a little, while on the other hand it must curb public expenditure, and it must not neglect investment. As far as investment is concerned, we are counting on financial assistance from abroad, which we are sure to get in the next year, and which will not go into expenditure.

We are actually simulating strategies for two or three options for the national product: From a conservative one, which will keep the gross national product at this year's level, to one that would be see an increase of five or 10 percentage points. It is hard to predict everything that might happen, so the government has to have several options up its sleeve.

Lower Prices—A Small Miracle

[Bogdanic] Although you are very restrained in your estimates, you do not seem to lack optimism?

[Sarinic] Well, I am sure you have noticed that lately the prices of some products have gone down. The sales tax has been reduced from 15 to 5 percent, and in some cases even more, because we had a tax on a tax. This, after all, is a small miracle if you take into account the situation we are in. I think that this will be reflected in a slight curbing of inflation as early as this month, and we have already had slightly lower inflation in November than in October.

[Bogdanic] Does this mean that the inflation has reached its peak, while the living standards of the population have reached their lowest point, and if so, does this mean that things will start to get better?

[Sarinic] May the good Lord hear you! However, try to remember the story that says that when you think that you have hit rock bottom, you hear some knocking from downstairs. There are always those who are worse off than you.

This government chose a stabilization program that will not be spectacular, but it will, without experiments, yield long-term results. We have a very pragmatic approach, but of course, we need peace and stability.

[Bogdanic] You have mentioned financial assistance from abroad because we have a lot of rebuilding to do. However, nothing is being said about public utility projects, although, at the beginning of your mandate, you mentioned this issue several times.

[Sarinic] I was asked the same question in parliament. The government has not carried out all the promises I made in my inauguration speech, but you know, the circumstances have been tough. This applies to public utility projects as well. I am talking about the work to be done on a part of the Sentilj-Zagreb highway, where our construction companies would be put to work. Road communications always go hand in hand with tourism, and here construction companies are always a generator of mobility because they involve other branches of the economy.

I have said that when distributing the gross national product, we are not going to neglect investment. Public utility projects are dependent on funds, and we must secure these funds. After all, along with intensified rebuilding, which we need badly, and which is one of the parameters of our economic life for the next five years,

public utility work will also be intensified. The rebuilding is in itself a public project, and it will find its place in the stabilization program for the following year.

The Zagreb-Rijeka highway is also a problem. The construction of this extremely expensive highway, owing to the problematic land configuration, faltered because it was financed by a domestic investment trust. We are now negotiating with a foreign investment trust, which is interested in participating in the realization of this project.

Square Accounts

[Bogdanic] This year we did not receive the expected financial assistance from abroad. The acceptance of Croatia into the IMF might open the safes of other international financial institutions as well. What are our chances?

[Sarinic] First of all, we are not counting on financial assistance from abroad. What we want is financial assistance in the form of loans, the opening of commercial lines and the like.

We have no technical problems with the IMF, which is of course the major international financial institution. We face a grave situation in this country, and I believe that the IMF has seen how serious our government is when it comes to dealing with these problems. In the IMF there is a current, which is opposed to the influence of political parameters on decisions concerning the acceptance of a country into the IMF. And in our case, these parameters are of paramount importance. Therefore, we practically have the consent of the technical staff of the IMF as regards the acceptance of Croatia and Slovenia into the Fund, but there are still some problems when it comes to political attitudes. We have, of course, lobbied in London and in talks with the premiers of many governments to secure their support. I believe that, at the moment, circumstances are such that Croatia could soon be accepted into the IMF. I am hoping that it will happen by the end of the year. This would of course, open the doors of other international financial institutions. There would be no instant financial effects, of course, but commercial banks, which already have some programs lined up, would be in a position to react more quickly.

[Bogdanic] Among those of the government's affairs that are not pressing, but are rather in the field of strategy, is the issue of privatization.

[Sarinic] Privatization is also one of the conditions that needs to be fulfilled in order for us to convert to a market economy, but it is also important to nurse our economy back to health. The more companies we privatize, the less the need for state intervention in the economy, which today cost us about a quarter of our budget. Moreover, by buying shares with old savings, we are reducing the national debt, on which the interest amounts to as much as 2.5 percent of the gross national product.

In addition to this, we have the foreign debt, which we hope to be able to reprogram, so that the gross national product will be less burdened.

However, the stabilization program constitutes our daily bread. We are working to square all accounts. As prime minister, I have to say how I would not be prepared to go on implementing a government policy without knowing where it was all leading to. And in order to know this, I must know what the main parameters are.

I Will Not Resign

[Bogdanic] At the press conference held on the anniversary marking the 100th day of the government, you were asked about possible resignations within the government, including your own. At the time, you said that there would only be "cosmetic" interventions. Can you now say something more on the subject?

[Sarinic] I can only repeat that the "cosmetic" interventions will happen very soon. I, personally, have no intention of resigning.

However, I was hurt by a newspaper article, in which the need for my resignation was, in a very primitive and improper way, linked to my stay in London. If it is thought that Sarinic has to go, that is is fine, because it is a personal opinion to which everyone has every right. However, to mention in this context that our stay in London was humiliating, and that nobody wanted to receive us, is a pure lie. I spent over an hour in conversation with Douglas Hurd, the British foreign minister and the chairman of the EC Council of Ministers. We managed to have the advice given to British citizens not to travel to Croatia lifted. Even if that had been all that we accomplished, it would still be a lot. The London visit, as will soon become evident, will help Croatia's acceptance into the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. When I read that article, I could not understand how someone could write such things in such a grave situation. It is totally irrelevant which newspaper it was, and it is not my vanity that is in question. As prime minister, I would crawl if that would help Croatia.

A Financial Police

[Bogdanic] When you speak about implementing financial discipline and the consistent implementation of laws, you often mention a financial police.

[Sarinic] The financial police is already at work. Next week it will be formally commissioned, and 200 special uniforms are already being made. Of course, these police officers will not carry guns, but if the need arises, they will be escorted by armed police officers. Because, in some activities, such as gambling for example, there is a gang, which will surely resist the attempts of the state to enforce law and order.

A Tobacco Lobby

[Bogdanic] The recent regulation on the Trade and Taxation of Tobacco Derivatives has caused a storm in

the tobacco industry. There was also a parliamentary debate on the subject. Will the government "soften" the rigor of this regulation, or maybe even abolish it altogether?

[Sarinic] We have had the trading and blackmarketeering of tobacco derivatives, on which sales taxes were not being paid. I do not think that any serious state would tolerate such behavior. In order to clear things up a bit, we have started controlling the production and marketing of tobacco derivatives, which means that only domestic or imported products which were controlled and taxed, can be sold. In this way, revenues would quickly pour into the state coffers. The resistance of the tobacco lobby shows what kind of profits they were making until now, but not because of their work or productivity, but because they were hoodwinking the state. I must say that some manufacturers were probably making more money from capital turnover than from their production. This has now come to an end. We can discuss giving the manufacturers a limited period in which to adapt, but a "softening" or abolishing of the regulation is out of the question.

After the tobacco lobby, we will take on the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages and gambling houses, which will probably be the toughest nut to crack, but the state must intervene. In the world at large, it is considered a privilege to pay taxes, whereas here we do everything we can to hoodwink the state, and yet this same state is called on to intervene when things go wrong. Industry, trade, and other branches of the economy, as well as the population, must help their state, in order for it to be able to help them.

HNS Against New Croatian Territorial Structure

93BA0350B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "Departure of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] Unfavorable Solution"]

[Text] *The HNS [Croatian People's Party] believes that the current proposal for territorial structure "would break up the Croatian regions."*

Zagreb—The Croatian People's Party announced on Friday that it will not be actively involved in the current administrative-political reshaping of the territory of Croatia because it believes that this is first of all a matter to be decided by the citizens themselves through referendums. At an HNS press conference, the secretary of that party, Ivica Vrkic, emphasized that "the reshaping of Croatia can be seriously undertaken only after the authorities and sources of financing have been determined" for units of local self-administration.

Noting that "not all of Croatia should be made into an experiment, but rather only certain regions," Vrkic expressed support for conducting a pilot study of the new administrative-political structure. He called for a "study on the economic gravitation of centers in Croatia that could exist as closed economic-cultural entities."

In Vrkic's opinion, the role of regions in Croatia is not evident from the proposals presented thus far, nor is this established by law. In these proposals, the "regions are broken down into zupanijas, so that there is no administration nor local self-administration, and thus no political opportunities for expressing the regional interests of, say, Slavonia or Dalmatia." If Croatia is not structured as Croatian regions, he warned, then this structure and policy will "work directly on behalf of autonomism."

Asked what awaits Croatia after the end of the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] mandate, Dr. Kucar expressed the opinion that Croatian policy should support a peaceful solution most of all, because the departure of UNPROFOR would not be a favorable solution for Croatia.

The HNS chairman believes that Croatia should ask, through the Security Council, that military action be undertaken centered on destroying the aggressor's main military targets in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. It is necessary, she added, that the aggressor be shown in earnest that the decisions from the London Conference and other international conferences are backed up by concrete action. Since the international community does not want to lift the embargo on exporting arms to the victims of Serb aggression, Dr. Kucar believes that Croatia should support a Security Council resolution on the complete disarmament of aggressor and irregular military units in B-H

When asked by journalists to comment on accusations leveled at the opposition, according to which it is harming Croatia's reputation in the world through its criticism, the HNS chairman said, "In supporting the edifice of the Croatian state, we do not want to be a pillar for rotten balconies."

Dangers of Croatia's One-Party System

93BA0350A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 92 p 5

[Commentary by Marko Veselica: "Dangerous One-Party System"]

[Text] All of us who struggled for the establishment of an independent and democratic Croatian state over the past 30 years, both at home and in emigre circles, but especially after the temporary defeat of the "Croatian spring" in 1972, have seriously simplified the situation, and we clearly have not counted on the limiting factors that would fundamentally retard the building of a democratic order, through which all moral energies and creative forces available to the Croatian nation and society can be unveiled, accentuated, and used productively.

The vestiges of communist terror are much deeper than we could have imagined, and they have fundamentally

corrupted and damaged the mentality and overall social, intellectual, and political sensibility and emphasis of a majority of individuals, and thus also of a majority of the leaders of newly founded Croatian democratic parties from 1989 to present. The majority of our people have not had the opportunity to shape their political thought, culture, and practice in a democratic atmosphere and within the framework of the mechanisms, instruments, and measures that have been developed by the pluralistic and parliamentary setting in the democratic nations and states of the West. Communist totalitarianism and the unitary-Serbian occupation of the Croatian nation had enormous negative effects, in the sense of paralyzing a freedom-loving and creative discovery, development, and accentuation of our energies, capabilities, and concrete criteria on the basis of which it is possible to function in an open, market-based, and private economy and on a multiparty political scene.

Faced with Milosevic's mass, totalitarian-imperialist, occupying-genocidal project, the Croatian nation needed a mass Croatian movement that would be capable of organizing in the short term, demolishing the communist, greater Serbian concept of domination, and developing capacities for making the independent and democratic Croatian state a reality.

The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] has demonstrated the greatest organizational, strategic-political, marketing, and other skills in this direction, on the basis of which it has managed to develop, in a very short period of time, a productive concept through which it has massively mobilized, concentrated, and accentuated the most important part of the conscious essence of the Croatian nation, which it has offered a national and political platform for the defeat of Serbo-communism in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and which gave rise to its victory in the first postwar democratic elections in 1990. The HDZ demonstrated much more tolerance and desire for cooperation with all the relevant factors that comprise the Croatian multiparty and overall national and political scene after the elections, because it was aware that it cannot rule Croatia alone, despite its overwhelming victory in the elections compared to the other political parties in Croatia. In this context, the Government of Democratic Unity was formed in August 1991, which despite all its limitations and the excessive concentration of power in the hands of the president of the republic played a constructive and productive role under conditions of the open and genocidal, bloody warfare that the Serb aggressor was waging against the Croatian nation and its just-established state. But since the victory in the August 1992 elections, certain parts and the leadership of the HDZ are slipping dangerously in the direction of a one-party system, and it was from these positions that a government was formed consisting exclusively of HDZ members. It is also taking great pains to use all permissible and impermissible means available to eat away, in the shortest possible time frame, at other parties, especially those with a Christian democratic orientation, on which the HDZ has a monopoly in the opinion of its leaders and key bodies. In all key posts, moral-political aptitude and affiliation with the ruling party are demanded, both in state administration and in public services and the economy, the majority of which is still in state hands.

There are also significant restrictions in the field of the media, and all means are being used in an attempt to marginalize individuals and parties that do not accept this concept of political, state, cadre, and media profiling of the Croatian state and society. Under conditions of enormous misery and very poor prospects for employment and any way of obtaining the means to survive, a large number of people accept the blackmail and offers of the ruling party, both in the capital and in the provinces. This process is developing new pathologies in Croatian society and generating the blind careerism and allegiance that was the main characteristic of the Serbo-communist regime in Croatia before the 1990 elections. This throws the most creative and most moral forces out of the game in the field of improving key services of the Croatian state and democracy, as well as developing new, private-ownership, market-oriented structures of the Croatian society and economy, forces on whom the future course of changes in rebuilding a Croatia devastated and impoverished by war will essentially depend. This also essentially destroys the reputation of the Croatian state and of its key standard-bearers before European and world public opinion and before the relevant political and state factors that have recognized Croatia. This elicits genuine amazement and disorientation among our genuine friends, who wanted Croatia to win this war against the Serb aggressor and to be affirmed as an independent and democratic state that in no way resembles Serbia. The movement in the direction of a one-party Croatia certainly cannot be in the interest of the Croatian nation, state, and democracy; rather, it is only in the interest of the enemies of the Croatian nation, the Croatian state, and its prosperity, in the interest of the pathological forces that want to transform the epochal struggle of the Croatian nation for independence, freedom, and its place in the sun into their own private interest and business.

That is why we must use all democratic and permissible means to oppose a one-party system and all the forces that are struggling for it, because this is an attack on the elementary interest and survival of the Croatian nation and democracy.

Some 2,000 Refugees Arrive From Bosnia

LD2212225492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A total of 2,021 Muslims and Croats from Bosanska Gradiska, Bosnaksa Dubica, Sanski Most, Prijedor, and Banja Luka arrived in Novska this evening. [passage omitted]

Muslim Commander on Situation in Bihac Area

93BA0350D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 22

[Article by Vesna Antonic: "Interview With Hajrudin Osmanagic: Enemy in Bihac Sandwich"]

[Text] *While we in the Bihac area are free, the aggressor is squeezed between us and the other part of free Croatia, warns the B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] military attache in Zagreb.*

Zagreb—Maj. Hajrudin Osmanagic, until recently the commander of the Bihac District Staff, is now in Zagreb as the assistant military attache for the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb. Maj. Osmanagic was one of the main architects of the defense plan for Bihac and the Bihac area, and was the creator of the concept of organizing and developing armed forces in an area that for some time was under a complete information blackout.

"It is known that long preparations were made for the war currently being waged in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. After the war in Slovenia, roads began to be blockaded, the flow of goods and information was halted, and electric energy was cut off. The people are in one big concentration camp, and it should be pointed out that with the arrival of refugees the population has climbed from the prewar 250,000 to 350,000. A large number of Serbs, infected by Greater Serbianism, have left this region. But the Croats and Muslims have remained just as they were—as a homogeneous entity. The Chetnik policy of hegemony has united us, and we are aware that the Serbs are still waging a sort of Turko-Serbian war," Osmanagic emphasizes.

"Since we were under a complete information blockade and cut off from the General Staff of the OS [Armed Forces of] Bosnia-Hercegovina, we had to organize ourselves. In the District Staff for the Defense of Bihac, which covers the opcinas of Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and Bosanska Krupa, detachments were created, and then seven brigades were formed. In order to have the necessary flexibility, the Una-Sana Operative Group was founded, whose name indicates the desire to carry the fighting over into the Sana Valley. We had no weapons, and had to develop military production. We began by making uniforms, and then simply repairing weapons, even museum pieces, but now we are producing them ourselves. We organized courses for training our officers, as well as for training our young men. The District Staff of Bihac region also published the first wartime newspaper, and later other publications," the former commander of the District Staff for the Defense of Bihac said, describing the situation in the Bihac region.

Stressing that there have been no losses of territory in this region, but only gains, Osmanagic notes that the Chetniks are well-equipped and that they inflict losses from a distance, mostly through long-range artillery, whereby they do not select their targets: hospitals, public squares, kindergartens, factories, buildings. "From their positions, they can fire whenever they want and at whatever they want. It should be emphasized that the Chetniks are in positions that they occupied during peacetime. And they are connected to the Serb population in Croatia. Tanks arrive from Donji Lapac and through the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zone and attack our forces. The situation is similar in the area from Bosanski Novi to Otoka and Buzim. Continuous targets of Chetnik attacks are Srbljani, Ostrozac, and part of Cazin. Things are similar in the Bosanska Krupa and Otoka area. But despite everything the population is returning to their homes, even though plenty of houses have been destroyed and burned down," he adds.

The right bank of the Una was accessible to infantry, so that it was mostly burned. The Chetniks have never made it to the left bank, but they have fired on it with artillery. They have also blown up the bridges over the Una. The towns of Srbljani and Spahici have been burned, while according to Osmanagic the town of Golubic is no longer recognizable. The other cities have survived. "It is enough for a shell to blow off a roof, to shatter the glass, to destroy part of a floor—the house is damaged, but it is still standing. That is roughly the situation in Bihac. A large number of buildings have been hit, and there are some that are completely destroyed, but the city has remained a city," he says.

According to Osmanagic, the biggest problem is obtaining uniforms, clothing, weapons, ammunition, and medicine. Food is the least problematic. "Agrocommerc" had some reserves, and humanitarian aid is also arriving. Members of the French battalion that are supposed to protect the convoys of humanitarian aid are in this region, and it is said that enough food to keep the population of the Bihac alive is supposed to arrive.

"The world, and especially this part of Croatia, will have to realize that while we are free, there are enemies in a sandwich between us and the rest of free Croatia. Regardless of the internal structure of these two states and later relations due to foreign policy, it must be realized that as long as we are living there, this part is secure as well. It must be known that that sandwich is the extreme point, of great strategic importance to the unification of the so-called united Serbian states. If something should happen to us, God forbid, then even Zagreb will be targeted in order to defend the border on the Kupa. People in Croatia should be aware of this, and they must know that the aid that they are giving us they are also giving to themselves," says Maj. Osmanagic.

Army Chief's Christmas Message to Troops

LD2212213092 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Christmas greetings message from Croatian Army Chief of Staff Corps General Janko Bobetko to Croatian Army officers and soldiers—read by announcer]

[Text] The Croatian people are celebrating the second Christmas in their internationally recognized and independent state. This year many of you will have to spend this most joyous holiday in the Christian calendar in the frontline, guarding Croatia's borders and thus securing the sovereignty of the Croatian state. I am convinced that you will, as you have always done in all difficult moments, take this honorable task most seriously.

Taking everything into account, the Croatian people are facing a decisive year. In the coming year we will have to secure the last inch of our country and return all refugees to their homes. Your role in all this will be significant. After that, I am sure, Croatia will set off on the path of its unstoppable national, spiritual, and economic renaissance.

In this regard I am also obliged to draw your attention on this occasion to the sanctity of members of the Croatian Army who have fallen in the homeland war. We must pay tribute to their memory and, in these days of togetherness, show comprehensive and sincere care for their mothers, wives, and children. I wish them and you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Federal

Panic Issues Statement on Elections, Intervention

LD2212185292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the federal government and candidate for the Serbian presidency Milan Panic said today that the electoral law had been grossly violated and that some parties claimed they already had evidence the electoral paperwork was rigged to suit the ruling party.

In a statement dispatched to TANJUG, Panic resolutely opposes the use of military force against Yugoslavia, calling it a declaration of war, a war which would spread across wider areas of Europe and the world.

Panic says the world has already made a number of mistakes regarding Serbia and Yugoslavia. He appeals to those advocating military intervention to abandon this in the interest of my country as well as of their own countries, his statement notes.

The text of the statement follows:

"For a number of reasons the elections in Yugoslavia attracted a great deal of attention among the domestic and world public. In the course of the elections one was choosing between two concepts and two systems, hence the voters were not choosing between two personalities.

"I present my attitude to the elections first in my capacity as candidate for Serbia's president; second, in my capacity as president of the Yugoslav Government.

"As a presidential candidate I have already told the public that there were so many irregularities in the course of the elections that they could be arguably rendered null and void in every law-governed country. The election campaign was inequitable since the presidential candidates were given only one opportunity to address the public for 20 minutes on state television—which is under control of the ruling Socialist Party—while this party's leader—Slobodan Milosevic—had the remaining 20-odd hours daily at his disposal. This air time was used to advertise anything relating to him and to deliver an incredible amount of slander about me as the candidate who was able to challenge him. Given the fact that it is only the first channel of state television which is seen across the entire territory of Serbia, it is clear these programs were the only source of decision-making for people living in the country's remote areas.

"The fraud perpetrated by the ruling regime is even more serious if one adds to all this the deletion of voters from official lists of voters and also all those irregularities in connection with the discovery of boxes containing ballot papers with votes for the ruling party. One could list many more faults and omissions. The very fact that even two days after the elections the public still does not know how many people voted gives rise to doubts about the regularity of the elections. It is evidently those votes that are needed for the ruling regime to win that are being counted first, while the number of votes which the regime will generously give up to me and other presidential candidates are going to be subsequently added. If they did not do it in this way, the number of votes won by some candidates may turn out to be different from the overall number of voters.

"The most important thing of all is the direct violation of the electoral law which does not envisage that electoral paperwork is sent to municipal commissions first and then is sent to electoral districts. In practice, the paperwork was first sent to municipalities, contrary to the law, whose number in Serbia is almost 190 and which are exclusively controlled by the ruling regime. Opposition parties did not send their representatives to these commissions since electoral paperwork should not have been sent there at all. Some parties said they already had evidence that the electoral paperwork was rigged to suit the ruling party; it is evident the paperwork was sent to the municipal commissions to be forged there.

"The very violation of the law is sufficient reason for annulment of the elections—which I have already asked for, proposing new elections be called within 90 days, or in May at the latest.

"Without a doubt election irregularities and possible fraud were reasons why increasing pressure is being exerted on Serbia and Yugoslavia from abroad. As a presidential candidate I had to say regarding the elections what I have just said. As the Yugoslav prime minister, I resolutely oppose any pressure on my country, specifically threats to use military force.

"The world should have realized it has made many mistakes in its policy towards Serbia and Yugoslavia and that the sanctions have hurt only the people, in particular the poorest strata of society. Powerful states responded with threats, which I received via heads of foreign missions and embassies, to my requests to relax or lift sanctions.

"My request that sanctions be lifted at least for 60 days, so elections could be held in a better atmosphere, also fell on deaf ears. Pressure is being intensified lately, which is another big mistake made by those countries. A military intervention against Serbia or Yugoslavia would bring about a catastrophe not just for my country but for the whole world. This would mean a war would be declared on my country, a war whose flames would spread to a wider European and world scene. Therefore, I appeal to all who advocate a military option to abandon the idea right away in the interest of my country and their countries. I hope that reason will prevail and that political passions in Yugoslavia and the world will give way to a dialogue on ways of resolving the crisis.

"We need support from the world in the sense of ending sanctions and helping our suffering people, and not new sufferings which would be brought about by a new intervention. The same applies to the hinted at intervention in Bosnia, which needs a more intensive peace talks

and not fresh military troops and fresh quantities of arms after the embargo is eventually lifted," Panic notes in his statement.

Milosevic Victory Said Due to West 'Mistakes'

LD2212222292 Belgrade TANGUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 2025 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Rome, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Niksa Stipcevic, special emissary in Italy to federal President Dobrica Cosic, said today in Rome that the electoral success of Slobodan Milosevic was "the result of many mistakes made by the West, the most serious of which are the embargo against the people of Serbia and Montenegro and the increased threats of the last few days from the CSCE and NATO."

"The pressures of the West are creating in Europe the same situation as between the two world wars. If the West makes another mistake it could even give rise to a third world war," Stipcevic stressed.

Stipcevic said the instability in the Balkans is "sought and encouraged" by the United States with the aim of "weakening Europe."

"That is why the U.S. is not intervening against attempts by Turkey to create an Islamic axis via Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania, and on the other side as far as the Great Wall of China," Stipcevic concluded.

Socialists Said Leading in Parliamentary Races

AU2212194692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Sonja Djuric report from the federal Elections Commission]

[Text] Experts from the Federal Institute for Statistics have been very busy all day. Over 50 percent of the registers have been processed, and based on that, we can say that the Socialist Party of Serbia is leading in the race for the federal parliament. The Serbian Radical Party is next, followed by the Democratic Movement of Serbia, and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro. The Democratic Party, the Socialist Party of Montenegro and the People's Party of Montenegro will also have their representatives in the federal parliament, that is, in the Chamber of Citizens.

There is some more precise information about the number of deputy seats in the Yugoslav Parliament, but we are not permitted to broadcast it since, as it is stressed here, the number of seats won can change by the time the final results are known. Some parties may increase their number of seats while other parties may lose some. The information that we can report concerns the processing of the registers. In that respect, Novi Sad has been the most efficient with 87 percent of the registers processed, then comes Zrenjanin with 78 percent, Nis with 77 percent, and Podgorica with 74 percent. Uzice has only 14 percent of the registers processed.

The number of invalid electoral rolls varies from place to place and ranges from 3 to 6 percent. Novi Sad, Zrenjanin, and Nis all have 6 percent of their electoral rolls invalid. The total turnout remains unknown. According to election workers in the field, a lot of work is being done but nothing new has reached the Federal Elections Commission, so we leave you with yesterday's estimate of a 60 to 70 percent turnout.

The Federal Elections Commission met today because of the note submitted by the Democratic Movement of Serbia which contains complaints from the public. The conclusion reached is as follows: Everything done improperly in the polling stations is to be investigated by the elections commission of the electoral unit in question. Complaints about decisions, activities, and errors of the elections commission of that electoral unit should be submitted to the Federal Elections Commission. There have not been any such complaints so far. We will try to get permission for the third newscast to broadcast the provisional information from the Federal Elections Commission. So much from the Yugoslav Parliament.

Serbia

DEPOS Says 'True Results' Show Panic Win

AU2212194492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] At a news conference organized by DEPOS, the leader of the Serbian Democratic Movement stated before the announcement of the official results that DEPOS and presidential candidate Milan Panic have won the elections. In regard to all other data, Vuk Draskovic claims that they are the result of, we quote, night [nocni], end quote, elections. Dragoljub Stankic reports.

[Stankic] According to the results obtained by DEPOS and which were, according to Vuk Draskovic, authentic, DEPOS and presidential candidate Milan Panic have won the early election.

[Begin Draskovic recording] These are the true results of the elections and this is a great victory for democracy in Serbia. During the night of 20 December, however, there were additional elections later. You saw where, because according to the order of the Serbian authorities, all election materials were transferred to places where they should have not been taken according to the law, and this is where the goat guarded the cabbage all night. According to these night results, Milosevic and the communist-fascist coalition have won. [end recording]

Draskovic particularly asked foreign reporters not to report on this picture of Serbia. Interpreting the results of the republican electoral commission, Draskovic said that Slobodan Milosevic could win in this fashion even in Croatia and Albania. Milosevic now holds a joker card in his hand, Draskovic continued, and can tell the world....

[Begin Draskovic recording] Perhaps I do not appeal to you. I am not a democrat, but see who is the next one. If you do not accept me, you will have to deal with these people. It is impossible for the fascist candidate to win six times more votes in Serbia, where fascism has never existed, than the fascist candidate received in the Croatian elections. These night elections are the greatest disgrace. [end recording]

Ilija Davidovic, member of the federal electoral commission, mentioned the example of irregularities at the elections, particularly emphasizing that the DEPOS election headquarters is continuously receiving objections by a large number of people regarding the propriety of the elections. The materials from the presidential elections are still in the hands of the communal electoral commissions, which is the height of illegality, Davidovic said. These materials are not protected and there is the possibility of unauthorized people using them, Davidovic said, but did not mention any names.

Pavle Zoric, a member of the supervisory committee for monitoring the elections who has resigned from his post, particularly stressed that Serbian radio and television had been violating the signed agreement for days and that it had carried commentaries that affected the elections. He did not specify which commentaries he was referring to.

Seselj Says Elections 'Completely Democratic'

AU2212153592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, by Dobrica Milicevic in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Milicevic] Mr. Seselj, our listeners are primarily interested in your current health. How do you feel?

[Seselj] Well, I feel quite well. I do not have any specific problems.

[Milicevic] How long will your post-operative convalescence last?

[Seselj] I will have to stay in bed for a few more days. I still have a temperature, but it is not that serious.

[Milicevic] We apologize for disturbing you. Of course, your main concern at present is your health. Could you nevertheless tell us how you assess the elections?

[Seselj] I think that the elections were completely democratic and that all parties had the maximum chances to present themselves and their views to the electorate. They had a chance to present their political, economic, and social programs. The voters made their judgment on the basis of their own beliefs and their own impressions.

[Milicevic] How do you assess the success of the Radical Party?

[Seselj] I do not know the final results yet, but everything indicates that the Serbian Radical Party has not fared that badly in the elections.

[Milicevic] What is your comment on the objections concerning the regularity, particularly those made by Panic?

[Seselj] These objections are ridiculous. You see what this Panic is doing. He wants Yugoslavia to be occupied and the occupation forces to conduct our elections. He wants elections to be held every week until he wins. However, this would then last 100 years, perhaps even longer.

(?These) people are without any character, honor, or dignity. They think that everything that they lose is undemocratic.

[Milicevic] Yes, there is now an increasing number of foreigners in our country. They are holding all kinds of news conferences.

[Seselj] We have refused to have any contact with foreigners. Foreigners should monitor the elections in their own countries. There is a sufficient number of us to monitor them in our country.

[Milicevic] Did you expect the Radical Party to be so successful at the elections?

[Seselj] We sort of expected these results. We still do not know the final results, but we had (?these results) in May and the Serbian Radical Party enjoys a solid electorate support. We (?had a fair share) of the votes that were not won by any party. This shows in a way that our vote is stable.

[Milicevic] What do you think is now ahead of us, and what do you think should be done under the present circumstances?

[Seselj] Assembly bodies should be set up now.

[Milicevic] If Panic's DEPOS [Serbian Democratic Movement], if I may say so, sticks to its claim that the elections were irregular, what will happen then?

[Seselj] Nothing, they should withdraw from the assembly, they should [word indistinct] party, they should leave politics. This would be the most sensible thing.

[Milicevic] Thank you very much. We wish you a speedy recovery.

[Seselj] Thank you, goodbye.

Milosevic Now Holding 'Convincing Lead'

AU2212213992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Jelena Hinic report from the Serbian Elections Commission]

[Excerpt] The latest unofficial data on the results of the presidential elections in Serbia, which had been processed by the Republican Institute for Statistics by 2100 tonight, show that Slobodan Milosevic has a convincing lead in 114 out of the 188 communes. In these communes, which make up 63.26 percent of the electoral body, Milosevic received 1,663,455 votes or 55.9 percent, against Panic's 1,019,524 votes or 34.29 percent. Milan Paroski received 98,881 votes or 3.33 percent. We have found out unofficially that the results of the presidential elections should be known by 1500 tomorrow, while the results of the parliamentary elections should be known by Thursday. And on Friday, the final results should be known of both the parliamentary and the presidential elections in Serbia.

The Republican Institute for Statistics has received the data on the parliamentary elections from individual electoral units. According to this information, the Socialist Party of Serbia has won the most seats, the Serbian Radical Party follows, then comes the Democratic Movement of Serbia and finally the Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

Commentator Assesses Elections

AU2312081792 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Krste Bijelic commentary]

[Text] Even though the final results of the early elections in Serbia and Yugoslavia are not yet known, one can already say with certainty that the Serbian and the Yugoslav parliaments will not be dominated by only one party in the future. The Socialists, as the preliminary results show, will win about 40 percent of the seats in the republican and federal assemblies, while the rest of the seats, not counting Montenegrin deputies in the federal assembly, will mainly be shared among the Serbian Radical Party, DEPOS [Serbian Democratic Movement] and the Democratic Party.

So, what the big democratic world was dreaming about has come true. Opposition parties have won more votes in Serbia. If this is to be so, and it appears that it will be, the logical question is why some world powers and a section of the Serbian opposition are demanding the cancellation of the elections in advance. The answer is as simple as it is absurd. The allied world and domestic democratic forces want to elect for Serbs and the citizens of Serbia not only their authorities, but also their opposition. According to these democrats, the Serbian Radical Party is not an opposition party, because, just like the hitherto ruling Socialists, it is striving for an all-around and just solution to the Serbian national question.

It is known that the world has for some time been denying the Serbs the very thing it considers to be normal in its own house. In the modern democratic societies, a party's consensus on the national and state interests is something that is implied. The same endeavor by the Serbs is unfortunately being declared nationalism, warmongering, and aggression from both outside and inside the country.

The majority of the Serbian people, fortunately, have not accepted such accusations. We believe that the final results of the elections will confirm this. Those who do not like the will of the majority will either have to join them, or, God forbid, change the people. Only the politically naive could believe that dishonesty in elections and serious omissions that could place a question mark over the regularity of the elections could be concealed from so many observers and multiparty commissions. The objections raised so far illustrate this in a certain way, because what could have been heard so far has not been substantiated with a single valid argument or material evidence.

For instance, here is the logic of a U.S. television station: If the runoff in the election race between Milosevic and Panic is not held, our colleague from the other side of the ocean reasons, this could only mean that the elections were not regular. The counterlogic is as follows: Does this mean that the elections in the United States were not regular either, since Clinton beat Bush and Perot in the first round, too?

The election headquarters of Milan Panic goes even further. Using big words and unsubstantiated accusations, they say:

[Begin Panic adviser Teodor Olic recording] I would like to say on behalf of Mr. Milan Panic, candidate for the president of Serbia, that we hold the view that these elections were not regular, that they were irregular, because of possible fraud, theft, and cheating regarding the counting of the ballots, bearing in mind the suspicion that the votes of certain candidates were ascribed to other candidates. [end recording]

This was stated by Teodor Olic, head of Milan Panic's election headquarters. Some of the foreign observers were indeed zealous. So (Olga Maitland), from Great Britain, and (Phillipe Visconi), from France, quickly concluded that as many as 100,000 young people in southern Serbia were not sent an invitation to vote. Even if this comes from the computerized West, it is too much.

In politics, not only in sports, there is a lower threshold of fair play. This threshold is particularly respected in the country from which Milan Panic has come. This country has also had elections recently. George Bush was among the first to congratulate Bill Clinton on his victory, even though he certainly did not like the defeat. The least that Milan Panic—who is blaming everyone for his election debacle except himself and his election team—was expected to do was to make a similar move.

If the unofficial results turn out to be correct, namely that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received more votes than Milan Panic in Belgrade, too, then the key objection by a section of opposition and foreign observers about the allegedly unequal media conditions

under which the candidates for the post of president were campaigning in Serbia is no longer true. If anyone was being informed, then it was the citizens of Belgrade, and in a big way. Not only are the majority of Belgrade media inclined to a section of the opposition, but some of them, like Studio B, turned themselves into real election propaganda headquarters for DEPOS and Milan Panic.

All in all, the panic rush to contest the elections in advance without providing real evidence is not helping those who are taking this risk. Foreign observers will not be of much help to them either, because since a part of the big and mighty world had satanized Serbs with one-sided campaign, and since it had exerted unprecedented pressure on Serb voters prior to the elections, then the Serbian people must understand that the reports by foreign observers cannot be anything but one-sided.

However, the guilt should lie with them and with those who gave them the orders, who, we are sure, at least deep inside, admire Serbs. The people who resist so many threats, pressure, and uncertain promises with a majority and decide to build their own house according to their own needs, indeed deserve respect and admiration.

The world will have to reconcile itself with their choice, like, after all, all the parties and movements in Serbia if they care for their own future. Even those who are now, like satellites, [trabant], contesting the elections, would make a wise move if they joined the majority of the people and took their side when they are in the most difficult situation.

Finally, democracy rests on the will of the majority. Everything else leads to a great uncertainty.

Serbian Firm Operating in Bulgaria, Hungary

93BA0347A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 15

[Article by Aca Stanojevic: "Many Steps to—Benneton"]

[Text] In today's universal economic gloom, which set in with the sanctions of the world organization and international isolation of the "third Yugoslavia," examples of increased production in some of our firms seem almost unreal.

One of them is Kostana, a factory making women's wear and sportswear which has managed to increase this year's output by some 10 percent or so over last year's level.

"I must say that up until the time the embargo was imposed, we were really working under full steam, although we have kept it up even after the sanctions were introduced. That is perhaps the reason why we have not shut down a single day during the six-month duration of the blockade. On the other hand, there is no need at all to talk about the well-known conditions for the conduct of economic activity, because they are simply terrible. And naturally in the situation in which almost all of us found ourselves, there was nothing left for us to do but to make a maximum effort and not to relent for a moment," says Mirko Dimitrijevic, director. "Certainly, anyone who even in these times has managed to preserve business relations with trading partners abroad has had an easier time keeping his head above water. Kostana, you see, has succeeded in that, because even now our ties with foreign trading partners have not been severed, and we are maintaining them either through direct contacts or through our own representatives in certain European cities. That is why perhaps we in Kostana are now regretting that we did not work more intensively in that area."

Will Kostana not be threatened by airtight isolation, we asked the director, if they continue to tighten the sanctions?

"Stated most briefly—no. Kostana is so incorporated into the European economy in its technology and business operation that it is almost impossible to isolate it completely. At the same time, the interest of capital penetrates even those barriers that at first seem impenetrable. We are turned toward Europe even at this moment. By the end of this year and early next year, what I might call personnel innovations will be completed in Kostana. This applies above all and most of all to those who still have not cast aside the philosophy that someone else is going to finish their job. The sooner they do that, the better, otherwise, they will have to leave Kostana and seek their livelihood elsewhere." The boss of this factory is explicit.

Although the times are not favorable at all, Kostana probably has or is preparing a concept for—afterward? we asked Dimitrijevic. "Even now Kostana has its firms in Bulgaria and Hungary, and it will very soon have them in Greece, Russia, and Germany as well. Also, the leather and footwear combine in Pec will be under Kostana's wing by the end of this year. We are convinced that this will round out the technological chain of production, which at the same time means expansion of the assortment of products, and there will even be fur products. For instance, with our own annual output of four million pairs of footwear, along with the Pec combine, Kostana will become the largest footwear manufacturer in Yugoslavia," Mirko Dimitrijevic explains the strategy for development in the future.

Will Kostana grow in this way to be a big system, and how consistent is that with present-day trends in the economy?

"I personally think that we will succeed in building Kostana and bringing it to the level, however even immodest it may seem from today's viewpoint, of a Benneton, which now has about a million small factories working for it, even family businesses. Even now we are offering some of our craftsmen the opportunity to establish those small family-owned factories. We hope that in the end we will manage to dispel that obstinacy and unnecessary fear. I believe that Kostana will succeed in these efforts as well," Mirko Dimitrijevic said.

Montenegro

Bulatovic, Kostic To Contest Presidency in Runoff

AU2212145692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Jagos Stojanovic report from Podgorica]

[Text] Although he was far ahead of the other eight presidential candidates in the number of votes, Momir Bulatovic will compete for the post of president once more in a second round of elections. According to reports from 20 communes—only the data for Podgorica are outstanding— he won 91,000 votes, which is 42.21 percent of all votes for the presidency. As he did not win over 50 percent, he will have to enter the second round of elections in competition with Dr. Branko Kostic [former vice president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], who received 23 percent of the vote. Presidential candidate Slavko Perovic came third with 19 percent.

The republican electoral commission is still waiting for all electoral data to be processed. It is known that because of complaints voting will be repeated in three polling stations in Podgorica Commune.

According to the data from 20 communes, 223,231 voters cast their ballots the day before yesterday. Some 19 parties were competing for 85 seats in the republican parliament and 12 parties and one citizens' association for the federal parliament. Candidates of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists won the highest number of mandates in the communal assemblies and in the republican and federal parliament, that is, 42.53 percent. The Peoples' Party, Liberal Alliance of the Republic, Serbian Radical Party, and Social Democratic Party of Reformists lie far behind in the number of votes, ranging from 6 to 13 percent of the vote.

All other parties failed to reach the threshold of 4 percent of the electorate needed to enter the republican parliament.

Macedonia

Defense Minister Comments on UN Troop Deployment

LD2212181392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Macedonian Defense Minister Vlado Popovski told Macedonian Radio this morning that in response to an agreement on sending and deploying UN troops in Macedonia, the government fully endorses the guidelines in the UN document.

In two days we are expecting to receive a protocol outlining the conditions, status, and rights of the blue helmets in Macedonia. The protocol, as an international document, will be signed by Macedonian Government; subsequently, it will be sent to the republic's assembly for regular procedure.

The mandate, role, and task of the UN troops are defined exclusively as "the mandate on Macedonia's borders" and explicitly on its "northern and parts of its western border," Popovski said.

A provision on the free movement of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] members refers only to the possibility of UNPROFOR members travelling in Macedonia outside their duty in civilian clothes as tourists, Popovski said in conclusion.

Kosovo

Leaders Brief CSCE Observers on Elections

AU2212215392 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA)—The Albanians in Kosovo did not take part in yesterday's Serb elections, considering them as foreign to Kosovo, which had its own elections in May this year. The Serb authorities managed to organise the elections of Serbia and self-style Yugoslav Federation only in the Serb enclaves in Kosovo, in a provoking and threatening atmosphere for the Albanians.

The CSCE official observers to the Serb elections, Olga Mejtllendin and Filip Plishon, were met yesterday in Pristine at the Presidency of the Democratic League of Kosovo by Dr. Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman, and Dr. Rexhep Ismaili and Dr. Ali Aliu, Presidency members. They interested themselves in the elections in Kosovo on the verge and during Serb elections and the stand of the political parties of Kosovo about these elections.

The Democratic League of Kosovo leaders informed the guests of the Albanian party stand on the political status of Kosovo, which stems from the political and independent will. They said that the presidential multiparty elections in Kosovo were held on May 24 this year and they were attended by over 87 percent of the electors.